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THE  
BRITISH REVIEW,  
AND  
LONDON CRITICAL JOURNAL.

JUNE, 1822.

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ART. XI.—*Memoires of the last Ten Years of the Reign of George the Second, by Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, from the Original MSS.* 4to. 2 vols. Murray. London, 1822.

WE thought we had done with Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, the publication of whose vain and vicious correspondence we have treated in a former review, we trust, as it deserved; but as long as he is made to sin in his grave, so long must we continue to be at war with his manes. We will not say that the late Earl of Orford was the Voltaire of our own country; for it somehow seems as if for the formation of a Voltaire the British mind and character does not possess the materials:—nothing in temper and composition so indefatigably mischievous, so flip-pantly profane, so animated and earnest in promoting the ruin of the soul, is registered among the moral births of our country. Neither will we deny that many of our men of letters have more nearly than the author of these volumes approached the character alluded to in its darker qualities. We would willingly think that Lord Orford was kept from being the author of as much mischief as Voltaire, more by his better nature than by his weaker capacity. In levity, illiberality, conceit and contempt of religion, the coxcombry of profane ridicule, the impertinence of inflated egotism, and the tricks of self-adulation, the author of the work before us stands upon the same “bad eminence” with the French philosopher; and is as proper a parallel to him as can be selected from among our most enlightened *esprits forts*, or intellectual reformers of the last century.

The character of the Earl of Orford’s mind, so clearly and decidedly displayed in the letters to Mr. Montague, which it cost us so much to get through, did not allow us to expect from his historical pen a production of any value or vigour, much less of

or utility. A work, however, which was written *instruct* to publication after the death of the writer, at a period with *he* would think, beyond the reach or aim of ridicule or so *ment*, or of public or private malice, we did expect to be *st* of a serious and subdued character; such as the view of awful event which was to precede its appearance was calculated to impress on the written thoughts of a thinking being. We were mistaken. The history before us borrows no sincerity of colouring, no sobriety of thought from the grave which yawned between the author and his work. Indecent gossip, personal scandal, demoralizing and disorganizing observations and sentiments, private amours, sarcasms on bodily infirmity, and, as the editor informs us, "one such gross, indelicate, and ill-authenticated story," (see Pref. xxxii.) that it was cut out by Lord Waldegrave before the MSS. came to the editor, were deliberately prepared by this noble author, this hereditary pillar of his country, to vitiate the coming generation after his own imperishable soul should have passed to its terrible and eternal account.

One of our quarterly journals, in good moral repute, and in many respects deservedly so, found something extremely pleasant in the posthumous volume of letters to Mr. Montague from the same author, to which we have already alluded, and supplied a short pithy sentence of unmodified praise of that work, (we are sorry we have forgotten it) which figured in every advertisement of the work for many months. If the eulogy in question was pronounced by a clerical contributor to the journal alluded to, we will in candour conclude that not above half the volume was read by the critic: for certainly, with two or three exceptions, no production of any distinguished writer has appeared in this latter age of literature, so framed to offend the manly and moral heart of a right-minded Briton. For the vindication of which assertion, we refer our readers to a former part of this journal—p. 266, vol. xiii. We really do hope that the present work will not be safe under the umbrage of any bookseller's name, but will receive the castigation which is its due from the hand of the decorous reviewer. A proper treatment of the present publication seems to be the more important, as it is intimated by the Editor that other posthumous works are behind, of a more censurable description, with respect to the decencies of morality. After adverting, in his preface (p. 32), to the excisions of gross and offensive passages, which had been necessary out of common respect to the reader, he adds, "such liberties would be still more necessary if the remaining historical works of Lord Orford were ever to see the light." The only light proper for them to

see is the light of a conflagration: but if we are destined to undergo another visitation from the same quarter, we will hope that should it be under the controul of the same editor, he may grow, in the mean time, somewhat more fastidious, and permit the insertion of no such despicable trash as that which the appendices to the present volumes have preserved;—too disgustingly gross for the historian of the Decline and Fall to have introduced, unless under the disguise of a Greek note.

It must be admitted that the editor appears to be not a little ashamed of the character and tendencies of the work which he thus introduces to the public.

“The work now submitted to the public as ‘Memoirs of the last Ten Years of the Reign of George the Second,’ is printed from a manuscript of the late Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford.

“Among the papers found at Strawberry Hill, after the death of Lord Orford, was the following memorandum, wrapped in an envelope, on which was written, ‘Not to be opened till after my will.’

“‘In my library at Strawberry Hill are two wainscot chests or boxes, the larger marked with an A, the lesser with a B:—I desire, that as soon as I am dead, my executor and executrix will cord up strongly and seal the larger box, marked A, and deliver it to the Honourable Hugh Conway Seymour, to be kept by him unopened and unsealed till the eldest son of Lady Waldegrave, or whichever of her sons, being Earl of Waldegrave, shall attain the age of twenty-five years, when the said chest, with whatever it contains, shall be delivered to him for his own. And I beg that the Honourable Hugh Conway Seymour, when he shall receive the said chest, will give a promise in writing, signed by him, to Lady Waldegrave, that he or his representatives will deliver the said chest unopened and unsealed, by my executor and executrix, to the first son of Lady Waldegrave who shall attain the age of twenty-five years. The key of the said chest is in one of the cupboards of the green closet within the blue breakfast room at Strawberry Hill, and that key, I desire, may be delivered to Laura, Lady Waldegrave, to be kept by her till her son shall receive the chest.

“*March 21st, 1790.*

“HOR. WALPOLE, Earl of Orford.

(Signed)

*Aug. 19th, 1796.”*

“In obedience to these directions, the box described in the preceding memorandum was corded and sealed with the seals of the Honourable Mrs. Damer and the late Lord Frederick Campbell, the executrix and executor of Lord Orford, and by them delivered to the late Lord Hugh Seymour, by whose representatives it was given up, unopened and unsealed, to the present Earl of Waldegrave, when he attained the age of twenty-five. On examining the box it was found to contain a number of manuscript volumes and other papers, among which were the Memoires now published.

“Though no directions were left by Lord Orford for the publication of these Memoirs, there can be little doubt of his intention that they should one day or other be communicated to the world. Innumer-



able passages in the *Memoires* show they were written for the public. The precautions of the Author to preserve them for a certain number of years from inspection, are a proof, not of his intention that they should remain always in the private hands of his family, but of his fears lest, if divulged, they might be published prematurely; and the term fixed for opening the chest seems to mark the distance of time when he thought they might be made public without impropriety. Ten years have elapsed since that period, and more than sixty years since the last of the historical events he commemorates in this work. No man is now alive whose character or conduct is the subject of praise or censure in these *Memoires*." (Preface, p. iv.—viii.)

Many arguments are then offered by the editor to make it clear to the reader that the author intended his work for publication; of which no man could doubt, and therefore they are wholly unnecessary. But he seems to rest the question concerning the propriety of the publication upon the fact of the author's intending it; as if the intention or wish of the man ought to weigh a feather against the expediency of the thing,—as if any man were competent to impose an obligation upon his posterity to do any thing to the prejudice of their own souls,—or as if, because a man intended a posthumous mischief to the rising generation, that generation were pledged to carry out such intentions into acts, and worship the will and memory of a departed sinner with the incense of his own abominations. We have said thus much of the inexpediency of gathering up with minute assiduity all the crumbs and fragments of such a busy loiterer as the late Horace Earl of Orford, because we collect from intimations given us in the preface to the present work that there is yet a quantity of unpublished correspondence, which it would be worse than useless to produce to the world. It is due, at the same time, to the editor of these *Memoirs*, to acknowledge that he is far from mixing himself with his author, or adopting his sentiments. On the contrary it appears that he has, to the credit of his taste and feeling, left out many offensive passages, and severely animadverted upon others which he has suffered to remain. He has moreover acknowledged, what we think must be admitted in no inconsiderable degree to affect the competency of this writer to compile memoirs of the political transactions of his day, that he was "under the guidance of personal feelings and resentments, and too apt to sacrifice his friendships to his aversions,"—that these aversions "were often excited by trivial causes,"—that "his political conduct was fluctuating and uncertain,"—that "his judgment of men was variable and capricious,"—that "he was a bitter, but placable, enemy, a warm but inconstant friend." The attitude, indeed, in which he was placed with respect to public affairs, was such as to render impartiality of opinion

and statement difficult to a mind the most candidly disposed, and equitably poised, and was therefore quite adequate to the destruction of all just views, all fairness of dealing, all honest grounds of praise or censure, in one, whose private obligations or connections furnished the sole standard of his estimation of men and things. He was, as every body knows, the third son of the celebrated Sir Robert Walpole, born on the 5th of October, 1717; and brought into parliament in 1741. He appears to have been very soon in life tired of politics, having retired from parliament in 1768; a determination, however, which, when we couple his own avowed disposition to faction, (see p. 91, vol. ii.) with his total inaptitude to public speaking, we cannot, without an excess of candour, wholly ascribe, as he has himself done in these memoirs, to the love of arts, books, painting, architecture, antiquities, and the amiable employments of a tranquil life. To anticipate, however, any impertinent interference of posterity with his character, the author of these volumes has thought it due to himself to take it out of their hands. Towards the end of his performance, he has drawn it himself; which, as it is rather a novelty in its kind, we here present to our readers:—

“Horace Walpole, without the least tincture of ambition, had a propensity to faction, and looked on the mischief of civil disturbances as a lively amusement. Indignation at the persecution raised against his father, and prejudices contracted by himself, conspired with his natural impetuosity of temper to nourish this passion. But coming into the world when the world was growing weary of faction, and some of the objects dying or being removed, against whom his warmth had been principally directed, maturity of reason and sparks of virtue extinguished this culpable ardour. Balanced for a few years between right and wrong, happily for him virtue preponderated early enough to leave him some merit in the option. Arts, books, painting, architecture, antiquities, and those amiable employments of a tranquil life, to which in the warmest of his political hours he had been fondly addicted, assumed an entire empire over him. The circumstances too of the times contributed to make him withdraw from the scene of business. With Newcastle he had determined never to connect: Fox’s behaviour on the case of Mr. Byng had rooted out his esteem, and the coldness discovered by Fox on Walpole’s refusing to concur in all his politics, had in a manner dissolved their friendship. Of Pitt he retained the best opinion; but the wanton exposure of so many lives at the affair of St. Cas, and in those other visionary attempts on the coast of France, had painted Pitt on his mind, as a man whose thirst of glory was inconsistent with humanity; and being himself strongly tinctured with tenderness, he avoided any farther intercourse with a minister, who was Great with so little reluctance.

“Thus, without disgrace, disappointment, or personal disgust, Walpole, at the age of forty-one, abandoned the theatre of affairs; and retaining neither resentment to warp, nor friendship to bias him,

he thinks himself qualified to give some account of transactions, which few men have known better, and of which scarce any can speak with equal impartiality. He has not falsified a circumstance to load any man; he has not denied a wrong act to excuse himself. Yet lest even this unreserve should not be thought sufficient, lest some secret motives should be supposed to have influenced his opinions, at least his narrative, he will lay open to the reader his nearest sentiments. Severity in some of the characters will be the most striking objection. His dislike to a few persons probably sharpened his eyes to their faults, but he hopes never blinded him to their virtues—lest it should have done, especially in so inflammable a nature, he admonishes the reader of his greatest prejudices, as far as they could have risen from any provocation. From the Duke of Cumberland, Mr. Pelham, and Lord Hardwicke, he had received trifling offence. To the two last he avows he had strong aversion. From Mr. Fox, as I have said, he had felt coldness and ingratitude. By his uncle and the Duke of Devonshire he had been injured—by the former basely betrayed; yet of none of these has he omitted to speak with praise when he could find occasion. Of Lord Hardwicke had he known a virtue, he would have told it: for now, when his passions are subsided, when affection and veneration for truth and justice preponderate above all other considerations, would he sacrifice the integrity of these Memoires, his favorite labour, to a little revenge that he shall never taste? No; let his narration be measured by this standard, and it will be found that the unamiableness of the characters he blames imprinted those dislikes, as well as private distaste to some of them. The King, the Duke of Newcastle, and others, who do not appear in these writings with any signal advantage, never gave him the most distant cause of dissatisfaction.

“How far his own character may have concurred towards forming his opinions may be calculated from the following picture, impartial as far as a man can know himself.

“Walpole had a warm conception, vehement attachments, strong aversions; with an apparent contradiction in his temper—for he had numerous caprices, and invincible perseverance. His principles tended to republicanism, but without any of its austerity; his love of faction was unmixed with any aspiring. He had great sense of honour, but not great enough, for he had too much weakness to resist doing wrong, though too much sensibility not to feel it in others. He had a great measure of pride, equally apt to resent neglect, and scorning to stoop to any meanness or flattery. A boundless friend; a bitter, but a placable enemy. His humour was satyric, though accompanied with a most compassionate heart. Indiscreet and abandoned to his passions, it seemed as if he despised or could bear no constraint; yet this want of government of himself was the more blameable, as nobody had greater command of resolution whenever he made a point of it. This appeared in his person: naturally very delicate, and educated with too fond a tenderness, by unrelaxed temperance and braving all inclemency of weathers, he formed and enjoyed the firmest and unabated health. One virtue he possessed in a singular degree—disin-

terestedness and contempt of money—if one may call that a virtue, which really was a passion. In short, such was his promptness to dislike superiors, such his humanity to inferiors, that, considering how few men are of so firm a texture as not to be influenced by their situation, he thinks, if he may be allowed to judge of himself, that had either extreme of fortune been his lot, he should have made a good prince, but not a very honest slave.” (Vol. ii. p. 334—337.)

Perhaps it would be difficult, in the whole compass of English literature, to extract from the published labours of any man of studious life and literary reputation, a passage so faulty in its style, and so absurd in its matter, as that which we have just produced. It is quite clear that the author did not intend to leave behind him, upon the whole result of the debit and credit account of his opposite qualities, a balance in his disfavour; but we think that this is decidedly the effect of his own statement. A man, without the motive of ambition, actuated by “a propensity to faction,” and “looking on the mischief of civil disturbances as a lively amusement,” affords a specimen of character from which we turn with inexpressible disgust. One would think the disorder inseparable from human affairs, the derangement for ever flowing from the fickleness of our affections, the instability of our tempers, and the violence of our passions, would spontaneously provide whatever could be wished for in this way by the keenest appetite for such eccentric luxury. He who can extract pleasure from scenes so degrading as those in which all the nobler qualities of our nature are trampled upon by the dishonest arts, and base feelings of factious malevolence,—who can delight to see the characteristics of our natural depravity excited into full play by political heats and animosities, may qualify his propensity with whatever names he may choose to describe it by; but in truth and fact, he stands recorded upon his own confession, a practical apostate from Christian principles, and a disclaimer of that common sympathy which brings the whole species under a law of reciprocal kindness, and makes every human thing the charitable concern of every human being. Upon what ground the author has, in his above spiritless draught of his own character, attributed to himself “a most compassionate heart,” does not appear either in his published correspondence, or in the Memoirs before us, unless it be sufficient proof of this amiableness of disposition, that he professes to have had a strong feeling for the fate of Admiral Byng. In this feeling every humane mind will be disposed to concur; and we wish, for the credit of the noble Earl, that as a testimony on the virtuous side of his character, it had been less overborne than it is by the prevailing proofs with which his writings abound, of a selfish and unsocial heart, disposed to jest with things of the highest interest to man,—to cast profane

ridicule upon that which constitutes our only substantial solace, and to find amusement in the scenes in which the fraud and ferocity of our nature is in fullest operation and display. But the contradiction just noticed is not the only instance of the same kind occurring in the above absurd specimen of a self-drawn character. 'The affectation of candour and stern impartiality, struggling with the strong principle of self-blandishment, has produced a ridiculous medley of bad and good properties; of moral defects and compensations, which result in nothing satisfactory, or reconcileable with observation or experience. He was, it seems, factious, without being ambitious; finding "amusement in civil disturbances, yet fondly addicted to the amiable employments of a tranquil life;" warm, impetuous, indignant, and prejudiced; yet balanced between right and wrong, and determined by an early predilection to the reasonable and judicious side; with "vehement attachments and strong aversions," and yet "retaining neither resentment to warp, nor friendship to bias;" with "numerous caprices," and yet "invincible perseverance;" with "a great sense of honour," and yet with too much weakness to resist doing wrong; "indiscreet and abandoned to his passions," and yet "with a great command of resolution whenever he made a point of it;" with qualities, in short, to "make a good prince, but not a very honest slave."

Character-drawing appears to have been regarded by this author as his great excellence; and accordingly he is for ever at that work; but it is, in truth, the department in which he most egregiously fails. We shall by and by give a specimen or two, from which it will appear that there is as little distinctness or totality of impression produced by his portraits of others as of himself, insomuch that in despair of a better guide through the distracting multiplicity of his lights and shadows, one is almost induced, in a simple and summary way of compromise, to believe all the good he says of others, and all the bad he reports of himself. It is but justice, however, to observe that there is no part of the task assumed by the historian so difficult as the clear and definite exhibition of character. Our author's fluttering and feeble pencil was wholly unequal to those decisive and masculine touches which bring out the dispositions of the heart in their proper reliefs, and exalt history into actual and living representation. We do not blame him for his incompetence to the undertaking; but we blame him for that alacrity of confidence which so frequently and ridiculously engaged him in attempts manifestly beyond the mediocrity of his genius.

But whatever confusion the author has thrown into the character which he has expressly drawn of himself, a pretty distinct character of him is indicated incidentally and involuntarily

in the course and conduct of the work under review. When we turn our attention to the great accumulation of tittle tattle and under-working gossip which has been collected in these volumes, the character of the writer stands in need of little further exposition. The particularities which enter into his narratives—the private scandal, below the petty currency of the lowest mart where secrets, whispers, and dirty anecdotes are exchanged, in which his *Memoirs* abound; the apparent delight with which degrading tales concerning royal personages, tales of which the wise reject the authority and the good abhor the mischief, are here supplied to those whose pastime it is to speak evil of dignities, sufficiently denote the sort of man to whom we are obliged for this supplement to the history of this great country. Of this characteristic manner of the noble author, his insinuations in disparagement of the virtue of the Princess Dowager of Wales may be taken as a specimen :

“June 4th.—The Prince of Wales attained the age prescribed for his majority; by which the Regency Bill remains only a dangerous precedent of power to posterity—no longer so to us, for whose subjection it was artfully, though, by the grace of God, vainly calculated! This epoch, however, brought to light the secrets of a court, where hitherto every thing had been transacted with mysterious decency. The princess had conducted herself with great respect to the King, with appearance of impartiality to ministers and factions. If she was not cordial to the Duke, or was averse to his friends, it had been imputed less to any hatred adopted from her husband's prejudices, than to jealousy of the government of her son; if the world should chuse to ascribe her attention for him to maternal affection, they were at liberty; she courted and watched him neither more nor less for their conjectures. It now at last appeared that paternal tenderness or ambition were not the sole passions that engrossed their thoughts. It had already been whispered that the assiduity of Lord Bute at Leicester-house, and his still more frequent attendance in the gardens at Kew and Carleton-house, were less addressed to the Prince of Wales than to his mother. The eagerness of the pages of the back-stairs to let her know whenever Lord Bute arrived (and some other symptoms) contributed to dispel the ideas that had been conceived of the rigour of her widowhood. On the other hand, the favoured personage, naturally ostentatious of his person, and of haughty carriage, seemed by no means desirous of concealing his conquest. His bows grew more theatric, his graces contracted some meaning, and the beauty of his leg was constantly displayed in the eyes of the poor captivated princess. Indeed, the nice observers of the court-thermometer, who often foresee a change of weather before it actually happens, had long thought that her royal highness was likely to choose younger ministers than that formal piece of empty mystery, Cresset; or the matron-like decorum of Sir George Lee.”—(Vol. ii. p. 47, 48.)

At the end of this passage the editor has left a consider-

able void, denoting by a cluster of stars that the author had soared beyond his daring;—an interval which those will best supply who are most acquainted with the spirit of Lord Orford's details in matters of intrigue.

The death and character of Frederick, Prince of Wales, could not fail to be interesting, we shall therefore extract it for our readers, who will find in it the same low cast of style and sentiment as that which, in our judgment, is characteristic of all the anecdotal parts of the work.

"The Prince of Wales had been ill of a pleurisy, but was so well recovered as to attend the king to the House of Lords on the 12th, where he was very hot. He went to Carlton-house to unrobe, put on only a light frock, and went to Kew, where he walked some time, and returning to Carlton-house, laid down upon a couch for three hours in a ground room next to the garden, caught a fresh cold, and relapsed that night. He had had a blow upon the stomach in the summer by a fall, from which he had often felt great pains. Dr. Wilmot, Taylor, and Leigh attended him, and Hawkins the surgeon. On Monday, 18th, a thrush appeared; however he was thought better. On Wednesday night, between nine and ten o'clock, Wilmot and Hawkins were with him; he had a fit of coughing. Wilmot said, "Sir, you have brought up all the phlegm; I hope this will be over in a quarter of an hour, and that your royal highness will have a good night." Hawkins went out of the room, and said, "Here is something I don't like." The cough continued; the prince laid his hand upon his stomach, and said, "*Je sens le mort.*" Pavonarius, his favourite German valet-de-chambre, who was holding him up, felt him shiver, and cried, "Good God! the prince is going!" The princess, who was at the feet of the bed, snatched up a candle, but before she got to him, he was dead! An imposthume had broken, which, on his body being opened, the physicians were of opinion had not been occasioned by the fall, but from a blow of a tennis-ball three years before.

"Thus died Frederick, Prince of Wales! having resembled his pattern the Black Prince in nothing but in dying before his father. Indeed it was not his fault if he had not distinguished himself by any warlike achievements. He had solicited the command of the army in Scotland during the last rebellion; though that ambition was ascribed rather to his jealousy of his brother than to his courage. A hard judgment! for what he could he did! When the royal army lay before Carlisle, the prince, at a great supper that he gave to his court and his favorites, as was his custom when the princess laid in, had ordered for the desert the representation of the citadel of Carlisle in paste, which he in person and the maids of honour bombarded with sugar-plumbs! He had disagreed with the king and queen early after his coming to England; not entirely by his own fault. The king had refused to pay what debts he had left at Hanover; and it ran a little in the blood of the family to hate the eldest son: the prince himself had so far not degenerated, though a better natured man, and a much better father, as to be fondest of his second son, Prince Edward.

The queen had exerted more authority, joined to a narrow prying into his conduct, than he liked; and Princess Emily, who had been admitted into his greatest confidence, had not forfeited her duty to the queen by concealing any of his secrets that might do him prejudice. Lord Bolinbroke, who had sowed a division in the Pretender's court, by the scheme for the father's resigning his claim to the eldest boy, repeated the same plan of discord here, on the first notice of the prince's disgusts; and the whole opposition was instructed to offer their services to the heir-apparent against the crown and the minister. The prince was sensible to flattery, and had a sort of parts that made him relish the sort of parts of Lord Chesterfield, Doddington, and Lyttelton, the latter of whom being introduced by Doddington, had wrought the disgrace of his protector. Whoever was unwelcome at St. James's was sure of countenance at the prince's apartments there. He was in vain reprimanded for this want of respect. At last, having hurried the princess from Hampton Court, when she was in actual labour, to the imminent danger of hers and the child's life, without acquainting either king or queen, the formal breach ensued; he having added to this insult, a total silence to his mother on her arriving immediately to visit the princess, and while he led her to her coach; but as soon as he came in sight of the populace, he knelt down in the dirt and kissed her hand with the most respectful show of duty. He immediately went all lengths of opposition and popularity till the fall of Sir Robert Walpole, when he was reconciled to, though never after spoken to by, the king. On Lord Granville's disgrace, he again grew out of humour; but after having been betrayed and deserted by all he had obliged, he did not erect a new standard of opposition, till the Pelhams had bought off every man of any genius that might have promoted his views. Indeed, his attachment to his followers was not stronger than theirs to him. Being angry with Lord Doneraile for not speaking oftener in the House of Commons, he said, "Does he think I will support him, unless he does as I would have him? Does not he consider that whoever are my ministers, I must be king." (Vol. i. p. 62—65.)

What follows will not endure to be extracted on account of its indelicacy. Of King George the Second the character is upon the whole pretty connected and full, but it is reflected from the surface of the events of his reign, rather than from any vigorous tracings of the author's pen. For vigorous tracings, indeed, there was but little opportunity afforded by the features of that uninteresting monarch. Nothing was emphatic or decided in his mind, but his love of money and of Hanover. If there was little to derogate from the man, there was little to dignify the monarch. His sympathy with the nation was not that of a *Parens Patriæ*. His fortitude was not shaken by its reverses, neither did its glory expand his bosom. The contests and cabals by which his councils were disturbed placed him sometimes in humiliating circumstances, from which he came forth without any permanent



diminution of prerogative or majesty. The successes which crowned his latter days had no tendency to volatilize his spirits above their usual tone of German composure. Of the pleasures that belong to the finer feelings, or flow from intellectual sources, he appears to have been in a great measure ignorant. Between his Majesty and the Muses no love was lost; he did nothing to win their flattery, and he had it not. Some loose habits belonged to him, without any strong addictions; he was irregular rather by privilege than from passion, and departed from virtue rather through the want of a sense of its value, than from any natural proclivity to vice. He seems to have preferred his queen in every respect to his mistresses; and, with a singular indifference to the vast practical importance of kingly example, he gratuitously scandalized the moral and religious part of the nation. His mediocrity of intellect was fortunately coupled with a habit of moderation. Thus his resentments soon gave place to his natural phlegm; and the durableness of his dislikes proceeded rather from indolence and prejudice than from implacability of temper. The most lasting object of his aversion was Mr. Pitt; and yet towards the close of his life he sat contentedly down under the shade of that high-minded minister, aggrandized, and yet obscured by his glory. His religion was low enough to satisfy the liberality of his facetious biographer, who, if he could have surprised him in a single act of devotion, would infallibly have handed him down a Methodist to posterity. He is said to have been avaricious, and there is but little to shew of munificence during his life in answer to the charge; he left, however, an argument against his love of accumulation by dying only moderately rich. It is in the following light that the Monarch is presented to us by our author:

“The King had fewer sensations of revenge, or at least knew how to hoard them better than any man who ever sat upon a throne. The insults he experienced from his own, and those obliged servants, never provoked him enough to make him venture the repose of his people, or his own. If any object of his hate fell in his way, he did not pique himself upon heroic forgiveness, but would indulge it at the expence of his integrity, though not of his safety. He was reckoned strictly honest; but the burning his father's will must be an indelible blot upon his memory; as a much later instance of his refusing to pardon a young man who had been condemned at Oxford for a most trifling forgery, contrary to all example when recommended to mercy by the judge; merely because Willes, who was attached to the Prince of Wales, had tried him, and assured him his pardon, will stamp his name with cruelty, though in general his disposition was merciful, if the offence was not murder. His avarice was much less equivocal than his courage; he had distinguished the latter early; it grew more doubtful afterwards: the former he distinguished very near as soon,

and never deviated from it. His understanding was not near so deficient, as it was imagined; but though his character changed extremely in the world, it was without foundation; for [whether] he deserved to be so much ridiculed as he had been in the former part of his reign, or so respected as in the latter, he was consistent in himself, and uniformly meritorious or absurd. His other passions were, Germany, the army, and women. Both the latter had a mixture of parade in them: he [treated] my Lady Suffolk, and afterwards Lady Yarmouth, as his mistresses, while he admired only the Queen; and never described what he thought a handsome woman, but he drew her picture. Lady Suffolk was sensible, artful, and agreeable, but had neither sense nor art enough to make him think her so agreeable as his wife. When she had left him, tired of acting the mistress, while she had in reality all the slights of a wife, and no interest with him, the opposition affected to cry up her virtue, and the obligations the King had to her for consenting to seem his mistress, while in reality she had confined him to mere friendship—a ridiculous pretence, as he was the last man in the world to have taste for talking sentiments, and that with a woman who was deaf! Lady Yarmouth was inoffensive, and attentive only to pleasing him, and to selling peerages whenever she had an opportunity. The Queen had been admired and happy for governing him by address; it was not then known how easily he was to be governed by fear. Indeed there were few arts by which he was not governed at some time or other of his life; for not to mention the late Duke of Argyle, who grew a favourite by imposing himself upon him for brave; nor Lord Wilmington, who imposed himself upon him for the Lord knows what; the Queen governed him by dissimulation, by affected tenderness and deference: Sir Robert Walpole by abilities and influence in the House of Commons; Lord Granville by flattering him in his German politics; the Duke of Newcastle by teasing and betraying him; Mr. Pelham by bullying him,—the only man by whom Mr. Pelham was not bullied himself. Who indeed had not sometimes weight with the King, except his children and his mistresses? With them he maintained all the reserve and majesty of his rank. He had the haughtiness of Henry the Eighth, without his spirit; the avarice of Henry the Seventh, without his exactions: the indignities of Charles the First, without his bigotry for his prerogative; the vexations of King William, with as little skill in his management of parties; and the gross gallantry of his father, without his good nature or his honesty:—he might, perhaps, have been honest, if he had never hated his father, or had ever loved his son.” (Vol. i. p. 152—157.)

The reader probably will agree with us that the above character, especially the latter part, is confusedly drawn;—that it is particularly contemptible for its coarseness, its feebleness, and its soppy affectation of antithesis. Nothing but the greatest ignorance of language, aggravated by the utmost incorrectness of feeling, could have produced the following sentence: “He had the indignities of Charles the First, without his bigotry for his prerogative.” Charles the First was for maintaining the

sceptre as it had been transmitted to him, unhappily and unwisely careless of the signs of the times. He was no bigot, but as men are bigoted to the possessions which their ancestors have delivered to them in trust for their posterity. His indignities bore no resemblance to, and admitted no comparison with, those of George the Second; they were such as a good and amiable though mistaking monarch would be likely to suffer when men of inhumanity, hypocrisy, and violence, "actuated by a propensity to faction, and looking on the mischief of civil disturbances as a lively amusement" unhappily come to be paramount.

The author's disposition certainly had no tendency to favourable views of character. But, making all due allowance for his bias towards censure, we cannot but admit the picture which his volumes present of the prevailing depravity of the days of George the Second to be too much entitled to general credit. Among the lower classes vice and disorder of every kind were produced by an addiction to spirituous liquors, which seemed to know no bounds; probably, in great part, the consequence of the profligate examples abounding among the rich. The comments of the author on the state of public manners are illustrative of his own insufficiency for judging of these matters. They manifest a profound ignorance of the sources from which all sound morals derive as well their existence as their permanence. A stranger, as it should seem, to all serious impressions, and bent upon being mutinously witty against all that is high or holy, nothing appears to have offered itself to his mind as so apt a subject for ridicule as religion in all its forms: and at once to remove all barriers, and lay the whole territory under contribution to his humour, he has ingeniously assumed that all its observances are pretences, and all its professors hypocrites. It is to the last degree disgusting to observe the air of elevated contempt with which this dabbler and babbler talks of religious concerns and controversies. Speaking of the state of Ireland he says, "Before I quit the affairs of that country, I must mention a *spiritual business* that made some noise there." He then proceeds with his account of manners in England, in the following style of complacent sarcasm:

"This little flame was soon extinguished—in fact, there were no religious combustibles in the temper of the times. Popery and Protestantism seemed at a stand. The modes of Christianity were exhausted, and could not furnish novelty enough to fix attention. Zinzendorffe plied his Moravians with nudities, yet made few enthusiasts: Whitfield and the Methodists made more money than disturbances: his largest crop of proselytes lay among servant-maids; and his warmest devotees went to Bedlam without going to war. Bower, whom some thought they had detected as a Jesuit, and who at most was but de-

tected as an impostor, had laid open the practices of the Catholics, and detailed the establishments of the Jesuits in the very heart of London, without occasioning either alarm or murmur against those fathers. His History of the Popes, one of the ablest performances we have, was decried, because, to recommend a work of truth and utility, he had embroidered his own story with some marvellous legends. Yet, unflammable as the times were, they carried a great mixture of superstition. Masquerades had been abolished, because there had been an earthquake at Lisbon; and when the last jubilee-masquerade was exhibited at Ranelagh, the ale-houses and roads to Chelsea were crowded with drunken people, who assembled to denounce the judgments of God on persons of fashion, whose greatest sin was dressing themselves ridiculously. A more inconvenient reformation, and not a more sensible one, was set on foot by societies of tradesmen, who denounced to the magistrate all bakers that baked or sold bread on Sundays. Alum, and the variety of spurious ingredients with which bread, and indeed all wares, were adulterated all the week round, gave not half so much offence as the vent of the chief necessary of life on the seventh day. Indecent prints were prohibited: the Chief-Justice Mansfield caused to be seized at an auction a well-known tale, called the Woman of Pleasure, a work that simplified novels to their original intention. Some of the elders too of our own church, seeing what harvests were brought into the tabernacles of Whitfield and Wesley by familiarizing God's word to the vulgar, and by elevating vulgar language, had the discretion to apply the same call to their own lost sheep, and tinkled back their old women by sounding the brass of the Methodists." (Vol. ii. 282—284.)

Now we beg our readers to be informed, if we have not made them understand this before, that we are not approvers of excess, or enthusiasm, or insobriety, or familiarity, or vulgarity, or superstition in the Christian tenets or practice, any more than we are of alum in our bread; but rather than be capable of writing the above passage for a future generation when death shall have put the act out of the reach of revocation or repentance, we would willingly take upon us whatever has most offended the religious taste of Lord Orford in Whitefield, or Wesley, or Zinzendorffe, or whatever other zealous reformer has suffered his zeal or his imagination to warp his discretion. To have entitled himself to the honourable scorn of Lord Orford for his religious professions, what wise man would regret to have committed the errors of these enthusiasts, if enthusiasts they were? The disposition, however, of this noble writer towards the things and persons connected with religion, and which he designates by the dry and official phrase of "spiritual business," is no less apparent in his treatment of the dignitaries of the established church, than in his unwarrantable attacks upon men who have laboured out of the church with honest but with irregular zeal to excite in their fellow beings a greater attention to their souls.

Dr. Butler, Bishop of Durham, the great author of the "Analogy," is classed by this man of virtue, this idolater of antiquarian foppery, among visionary metaphysicians; and Archbishop Secker, whose life Dr. Porteus was at the pains of writing, and whose character the same Bishop displays in several pages of specific and appropriate eulogy, appears before us in these Memoirs under the following description:

"The king would not go to chapel, because Secker, Bishop of Oxford, was to preach before him. The ministers did not insist upon his hearing the sermon, as they had lately upon his making him dean of St. Paul's. Character and popularity do not always depend upon the circumstances that ought to compose either. This bishop, who had been bred a presbyterian and man-midwife, which sect and profession he had dropt for a season, while he was president of a very free-thinking club, had been converted by Bishop Talbot, whose relation he married, and his faith settled in a prebend of Durham: from thence he was transplanted, at the recommendation of Dr. Bland, by the queen, and advanced by her [who had no aversion to a medley of religions, which she always compounded into a scheme of heresy of her own], to the living of St. James's vacant by the death of her favourite Arian, Dr. Clarke, and afterwards to the bishoprics of Bristol and Oxford. It is incredible how popular he grew in his parish, and how much some of his former qualifications contributed to heighten his present doctrines. His discourses from the pulpit, which, by a fashion that he introduced, were a kind of moral essays, were as clear from quotations of Scripture, as when he presided in a less Christian society; but what they wanted of Gospel, was made up by a tone of fanaticism that he still retained. He had made a match between a daughter of the late Duke of Kent and a Dr. Gregory, whose talents would have been extremely thrown away in any priesthood, where celibacy was one of the injunctions. He had been presented with a noble service of plate for procuring a marriage between the heiress of the same Duke of Kent and the chancellor's son, and was now forced upon the king by the gratitude of the same minister, though he had long been in disgrace for having laid his plan for Canterbury in the interest he had cultivated at the prince's court. But even the church had its renegades in politics, and the king was obliged to fling open his asylum to all kind of deserters; content with not speaking to them at his levee, or listening to them in the pulpit!" (Vol. i. p. 56—57.)

In the biographical sketch traced by the faithful hand of the Bishop of London, formerly his chaplain, may be seen the facts upon which the author has founded his illiberal, and in some respects unprincipled remarks.

"Mr. Secker," says Bishop Porteus, "had been destined by his father for orders among the dissenters. With this view, during the last years of his education, his studies were chiefly turned towards divinity; in which he made such quick advances, that by the time he was three-and-twenty he had read over carefully a great part of the

Scriptures, particularly the New Testament, in the original, and the best comments upon it. But, though the result of these inquiries was (what might naturally have been expected) a well-grounded belief of the Christian Revelation, yet not being at that time able to decide upon some abstruse speculative doctrines, nor to determine absolutely what communion he should embrace, he resolved, like a wise and honest man, to pursue some profession which should leave him at liberty to weigh those things more maturely in his thoughts, and not be obliged to declare, or teach publicly, opinions which were not yet thoroughly settled in his own mind. Therefore about the end of the year 1716 he applied himself to the study of physic; and after gaining all the insight into it he could, by reading the usual preparatory books, and attending the best lectures during that and the following winter in London, in order to improve himself still more, in January 1718—19 he went to Paris. There he lodged in the same house with Mr. Winslow, the famous anatomist, whose lectures he attended, as he did those of the *materia medica*, chemistry, and botany at the King's Gardens. The operations of surgery he saw at the Hotel Dieu, and attended also for some time M. Gregoire, the accoucheur, but without any design of ever practising that or any other branch of surgery."

While he was in Paris it appears that Mr. Butler, afterwards the Bishop of Durham, recommended him to Mr. Talbot, son of Bishop Talbot, his predecessor in that See, who promised to procure for him his father's patronage. This was communicated to Mr. Secker in a letter from Mr. Butler in 1720.

"But it appears," says his biographer, "from two of his letters still in being, (both of them prior to the date of Mr. Butler's above-mentioned,) that he was greatly dissatisfied with the divisions and disturbances which at that period prevailed amongst the dissenters. His judgment had become stronger, and his reading more extensive. In this state of mind Mr. Butler's unexpected proposal found him, which he was therefore very well disposed to take into consideration; and, after deliberating carefully on the subject of such a change for upwards of two months, he resolved at length to embrace the offer, and for that purpose quitted France the latter end of July, or beginning of August, 1720."

He was in December, 1722, ordained Deacon, and Priest not long after, and preferments quickly followed. He became Bishop of Bristol in 1734, was promoted to the See of Oxford in 1737, a situation which he retained for twenty years, and in the year 1758 was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. His biographer bears testimony to the diligence and alacrity with which he discharged the duties of a country clergyman, while he held his first preferment—the living of Houghton.

"He omitted nothing which he thought could be of use to the souls and bodies of the people entrusted to his care. He brought down his conversation and his sermons to the level of their under-

standings; he visited them in private, he catechised the young and ignorant, he received his country neighbours and tenants kindly and hospitably, and was of great service to the poorer sort by his skill in physic. It was no thought or choice of his own that removed him to a higher situation."

When promoted to the See of Bristol, in the prime of his life, "the honours to which he was thus raised did not," says his biographer, "abate his diligence and attention to business. He immediately set about the visitation of his diocese, confirmed in a great number of places, preached in several churches, sometimes twice in a day." "In his parish of St. James's he allowed out of his own income a salary for reading early and late prayers, which had formerly been paid out of the offertory money. He held a confirmation once every year, and examined and instructed the candidates several weeks before in the vestry, to whom he gave religious tracts, which he distributed very liberally to those that needed them. He also drew up for the use of his parishioners his admirable course of lectures on the church catechism."—"His preaching was, at the same time, highly rational, and truly evangelical. He explained with perspicuity, and asserted with dignity, the peculiar characteristic doctrines of the Gospel." When arrived at his highest preferment, "never," continues his biographer, "did any one support the rank, or discharge the various duties, of a metropolitan, with more true dignity, wisdom, and moderation, than Archbishop Secker."—Men of real genius or extensive knowledge he sought out and encouraged. Those of humbler talents, provided their industry was great and their intentions good, he treated with kindness and condescension.

"All designs and institutions that tended to advance good morals and true religion he patronized with zeal and generosity. He contributed largely to the maintenance of schools for the poor, towards the rebuilding and repairing of parsonage houses, and places of worship, and gave at one time no less than 500*l.* towards erecting a chapel in the parish of Lambeth, to which he afterwards added near 100*l.* more. To the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge he was a liberal benefactor, and to that for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, of which he was the president, he paid much attention, was constant at all the meetings of its members, and superintended their deliberations with consummate prudence and temper."

Such was the man, according to the testimony of one who well knew him, and was very capable of appreciating his character, of whom this ruthless violator of the ashes of departed excellence has without compunction branded as a bishop made out of a Presbyterian man-midwife, who had dropped his sect and profession for a season to become president of a free-think-

ing club; and whom, he further intimates in a note to the above cited passage, to have been an Atheist, upon no better evidence than the assertion of a Mr. Robyns, that he had known him to be an Atheist, and had advised him against talking so openly in coffee-houses; and of a Mr. Stevens, who had declared Secker had made him an Atheist at Leyden, where the free-thinking club was established. The Archbishop is also charged with aberration from the Gospel in his Sermons, and this might very probably have been the case as the Gospel was understood by this orthodox author. It may, however, with truth be said that Secker was rather a moral than a spiritual preacher; yet his morality was Gospel morality, founded on scriptural authority, exhibited as subordinate to faith, and copied from the Divine Exemplar. His matter was perhaps too didactical; not enough enforced as the immediate consequence of the obligations of Divine love, and deficient certainly in those enunciations of the great characteristical truths of Scripture, without which man's doings are of no spiritual worth; but still to Secker's discourses the Christian moralist may resort as to an abundant source of preceptive and practical truths, having the full warrant of the Divine writings to support them, grounded on a familiar acquaintance with the human heart, and expressed in a language unadorned indeed, and unstudied, but in a remarkable degree correct, masculine, and pure. What was the real state of Mr. Horace Walpole's belief we do not with certainty know; but we think it is plain that it was not a belief that controuled his tongue, or guided his pen; that filled his mouth with the praises of his Maker, or taught him to make God "his portion in the land of the living." Among the vast multitude of published sermons with which our literature so eminently abounds, there are none that we know of which we think would have suited his case more exactly than the first three of the Collection of Archbishop Secker's Discourses on the 21st and 22d verses of 1 Thessalonians, ch. v. "Prove all things: hold fast that which is good: abstain from all appearance of evil;" from which we will extract only three sentences, assuring the reader that he will find in the same pages a multitude of passages equally pregnant, plain, and instructive. "There are some who openly profess an utter contempt of all enquiry; despise such as are solicitous either about belief or practice; and even affect a thoughtlessness which they find to be grown fashionable. Now really if this be an accomplishment, it is one which, whosoever will may easily be master of. But surely men ought to think seriously once for all before they resolve to think no more."

The offence against Horace Walpole, committed by the calumniated Archbishop, was not his receding from the Gospel,



but his acceding to the party in power, and receiving preferment at the hands of Lord Hardwicke and the Duke of Newcastle. With the author of these Memoirs there appears to have been only one criterion of merit in his appreciation of the leading men of his time, and this our readers will probably agree with us was, a very fallible standard. Those who had adhered to his father in his life-time, or remained steady in their attachment to his measures and his memory, could scarcely err in his estimation; and his resentment towards those who had acted a contrary part was equally remarkable: justice being ground to nothing by the collision of these opposite motives. Sir Robert Walpole, though a man of some good qualities, was doubtless a person to be generally resisted by men of virtuous and independent spirit. He carried on the administration of the country in a great degree by practising on the degeneracy of the times; and thus a very large proportion of men, eminent in worth and talents, were thrown into the opposite side, to have their memories mangled by this posthumous defamer.

The character of the Duke of Newcastle has been settled by the general consent of history at a point little short of that extreme of worthlessness in which it is presented to us in these pages; though it is apparent, and indeed it stands upon the confession of the writer himself, that the contempt which he has heaped upon him was less to satisfy truth than to gratify resentment. Upon Lord Hardwicke's memory he has made a ferocious and unprincipled assault; forgetting what a great nation owes to the illustrious dead who made it great, and laying trains for future explosion under the monuments of departed excellence. His character of the Duke of Newcastle is as follows:

“ He succeeded young to an estate of about thirty thousand pounds a year, and to great influence and interest in several counties. This account in reality contains his whole character as a minister; for to the weight of this fortune he solely owed his every-other-way most unwarrantable elevation. His being heir to his uncle, the old Duke of Newcastle, obtained from the crown a new creation of the title in his person; and, though he was far from having parts to procure him a peerage, his peerage and vast income procured him the first posts in the government. His person was not naturally despicable; his incapacity, his mean soul, and the general low opinion of him, grew to make it appear ridiculous. A constant hurry in his walk, a restlessness of place, a borrowed importance, and real insignificance, gave him the perpetual air of a solicitor; though he was perpetually solicited; for he never conferred a favour till it was wrested from him, but often omitted doing what he most wished done. This disquiet and habit of never finishing, which, too, proceeded frequently from his beginning every thing twenty times over, gave rise to a famous *bon mot* of Lord Wilmington,—a man as unapt to attempt saying a

good thing, as to say one. He said, 'The Duke of Newcastle always loses half an hour in the morning, which he is running after the rest of the day without being able to overtake it.' He early distinguished himself for the house of Hanover, and in the last years of Queen Anne retained a great mob of people to halloo in that cause. He and his brother Harry raised a troop for King George on the Preston rebellion, where the latter gave proofs of personal courage. The duke was rewarded with the garter, and some time after made lord chamberlain. The late king chose him for the honour of being godfather to a new-born son of the Prince of Wales, which, his royal highness much disapproving, was the immediate cause of that famous breach in the royal family, when the prince and princess left the palace very late at night. On Lord Carteret's being sent into honourable banishment as lord lieutenant of Ireland, by the power of Lord Townshend and Sir Robert Walpole, the latter proposed to make the Duke of Newcastle secretary of state, having experienced how troublesome a man of parts was in that office. The viscount's first wife having been the duke's sister was another reason for their depending the more on his attachment to them; but that very relation had given Lord Townshend too many opportunities of discovering how little he was to be trusted, particularly from his having betrayed Lord Sunderland, his first patron, to Lord Townshend, who earnestly objected to the choice of him, and endeavoured to convince Sir Robert Walpole how much his falshood would give an edge to his incapacity. As the disagreement increased between those two ministers, the duke in every instance betrayed his brother-in-law to Sir Robert. The viscount was not of Walpole's forgiving temper, and was immediately for discarding the duke. He pressed both King and Queen to it; exclaimed against his childishness and weakness, and insisted upon his dismissal as the only terms of reconciliation with Sir Robert. The King, who always hated him, easily yielded to make Sir Paul Methuen secretary of state in his room; but the greater power of Sir Robert with the Queen (whose policy had long been employed in keeping open the breach, in order to govern both), saved the duke for future scenes of perfidy and ingratitude.

"Towards the decline of Sir Robert Walpole's ministry, the Duke of Newcastle, who feared to fall with him, and hoped to rise upon his ruins, dealt largely with the opposition, to compass both. The late Duke of Argyle, after that minister's defeat, and his own disappointment in not succeeding to a greater portion of power, commissioned his brother, Lord Islay, to tell Sir Robert, that the Duke of Newcastle and the chancellor had long been in league with himself and Lord Granville to effect his ruin. Lord Granville was scarce warm in power before Newcastle betrayed him to Lord Chesterfield; and the latter having introduced Lord Sandwich, who was sent minister to the Hague, this young statesman and the Duke of Newcastle kept the secrets of his own office from Lord Harrington, who had been restored to the place of secretary of state, for the assistance he had lent in overturning Lord Granville. On Lord Harrington's discovering and resenting this treachery, the seals were

given to Lord Chesterfield; but he being, like his predecessors, excluded from all trust the moment he had a right to be trusted, soon resigned them. The Duke of Newcastle, who had newly entered into connections with the Duke of Bedford, (as he and his brother did successively with every chief of a faction, till they had taken out their stings by dividing them from their party, and then discarded them) wished to give the seals to Murray, who was, or to Pitt, who was canvassing to be, his creature; but the Duke of Bedford abruptly and positively insisted on having them—and had [them together with] their constant perquisites,—the Duke of Newcastle's suspicions and treachery." (Vol. i. p. 141—144.)

Such is the character given us of George the Second's Prime Minister, the Duke of Newcastle, in which, as may be observed in the specimens of character-drawing found in these volumes, there is much perplexity of lights, and much meretricious daubing. If this be taken as the real character of the Duke of Newcastle, it is not easy to hear with patience the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke represented as his *creature*; yet it is in the capacity of his creature that the author of these Memoirs introduces that great person to our notice—as one who, without a virtue to recommend him, owed his high fortunes entirely to the baseness of his political compliances. Lord Hardwicke for 20 years had the custody of the great seal; a period that put his abilities and his integrity to some probation. His decrees, for the most part, are the great land-marks of judicial equity: under the disadvantage and disguise of ill-written reports, they display a penetration and precision which have secured to them the homage of posterity, and in a remarkable manner compelled the acquiescence of the profession. For 20 years he remained firm in his high station amidst numerous political changes, and continued to impress his own clear constitutional intelligence on all the great measures of the legislature. He was a lawyer and statesman of the pure breed, thoroughly English, thoroughly Protestant, full of high thoughts of hereditary liberty, with a due reverence for its sacred boundaries and conservative restraints. Those ancient, sound, and legal principles which have been found so strong a bulwark against the temerity of innovators; against the men who can acquire reputation only by undoing, or disordering what experience has proved to have been well done; against those who know nothing of the compromise between opposite perfections, which must exist in any human system made to last;—those ancient, sound, and legal principles, we say, were the principles of the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke: they characterised his judicial and his parliamentary conduct—they breathed through that work which, though ascribed to his son, is generally considered as the transcript of his own thoughts,

if not his own composition; and they secured to him the only popularity which a wise man covets—that which associates and identifies him with the practical and permanent felicity of his country. Such really was the man of whom this author gives the following account:—

“He had good parts, which he laid out so entirely upon the law in the first part of his life, that they were of little use to him afterwards, when he would have applied them to more general views. In his Chief-Justiceship he had gained the reputation of humanity in some solemn speeches made on the circuit, at the condemnation of wretches for low crimes; a character which he lost with some when he sat as Lord High Steward at the trial of the Scotch Lords, the meanness of his birth breaking out into insolent acrimony. On his promotion he flung himself into politics; but as he had no knowledge of foreign affairs but what were whispered to him by Newcastle, he made a very poor figure. In the House of Lords he was laughed at; in the cabinet despised.”

This very virulent and false representation is properly encountered by a note of the editor; to whose impartial and respectable sentiments, as far as they transpire in the notes, we bear a willing testimony. The note animadverts upon the inconsistency of the author, who, in the course of the work, laments Lord Hardwicke's influence in cabinets, where he would have us believe he was despised, and acknowledges that he exercised a dominion nearly absolute over that House of Parliament which he would persuade his readers laughed at him. “The truth is,” continues the editor, “that wherever that great magistrate is mentioned, Lord Orford's resentments blind his judgment and disfigure his narrative.”

It was the disposition of Lord Orford to treat all dignity with affected disdain, and to display his inveteracy in terms of disgusting coarseness. Of Chief Justice Willes he tells an indecent story, which may be as easily false as true, and for which he produces no better authority than hearsay. “He had been raised,” he tells us, “by Sir Robert Walpole, though always brow-beaten by haughty Yorke. He was not wont to disguise any of his passions;—that for gaming was notorious; for women, unbounded.” It seems he had “great quickness of wit,” and then we are told of a merit belonging to him, which, in the estimation of this just appreciator of character, would atone for many foibles: and what truly is this atoning merit? “his severity towards, and discouragement of, that pest of society, attorneys; which,” he says, “made his court, i. e. the court of K. B., deserted by them, and induced them to carry all the business they could from thence into Chancery, where Yorke's filial piety could not refuse an asylum to his father's

profession." Will the reader believe that a journal of political incidents, composed by an English Earl as a supplement to the history of this great nation, could consist principally of this sort of impertinence? Yet so it is.

In the account here given of the debates on the bill for explaining and extending the Act of Habeas Corpus, the noble author has taken occasion to show that, for the judges of the land he entertained as supreme a contempt as for the guardians of our holy church. That some doubts obscured the sense and impeded the operation of that beneficial statute cannot be denied, and it is one of the felicities of the present hour that the doubts and difficulties alluded to have been removed; but to ground an attack upon the characters of such men as Lords Mansfield and Hardwicke on their opposition to that bill,—to designate them upon that account as "instances of the discrimination that ought to be made between the spirit of the laws and the profession of them," was as unwarranted as it was illiberal. The judges, whose opinions were taken upon the points respecting this celebrated Act, are no less scornfully treated by this shallow but undoubting politician for differing from him in their legal views of the question. "When the judges came," says he, "they were to talk, to talk on law, and to explain that law by jargon. The field was so spacious and so inviting, that they ran into all the subtleties, distinctions, chicaneries, and absurdities of their profession." And yet among these judges were Lord Mansfield and Wilmot, the latter of whom, "whose manner was like Lord Mansfield's, very rapid and full of fire," spoke decidedly against the bill, as did the justices Legge and Adams; and it is to be remembered that both Wilmot and Adams were great friends of Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden, then Attorney-General, the parent of the bill, and the reputed champion of liberty. Sir Michael Forster was also one of these judges upon whom, as a body, this charge of dealing in subtleties and chicaneries is cast with so little reserve by this purifier of our historical annals. We may judge in some measure of the value of our author's censure by the grounds on which he builds his panegyric. After speaking in his usual strain of obloquy of Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, he proceeds to inform us that he had a bitter antagonist in the Attorney-General Pratt, who had not only entered into employment on a popular footing, but personally hated the Chief Justice, and was himself steady, warm, sullen, stained with no reproach, and an uniform Whig. He then continues,

"He declared himself, with impetuosity for the utmost latitude of the Habeas Corpus; and it reflected no small honour on him, that the first advocate of the crown should appear the firmest champion against

prerogative. Nor should we deem less highly of him, because private motives spurred him on to the contest—alas! how cold would public virtue be, if it never glowed with public heat! So seldom, too, it is that any considerations can bias a man to run counter to the colour of his office and the interests of his profession, that the world should not be too scrupulous about accepting the service as a merit, but should honour it at least for the sake of the precedent.”—(Vol. ii. p. 287.)

This is called by the editor, in his note at the bottom of the page, “a just and spirited passage.” We differ widely from him. Are we then not to “deem less highly of a man,” because “private motives,” the leading one, as above appears, being personal hatred of an illustrious individual, influenced his public conduct? Is it “public virtue at all, unless it glows with “public heat.” It is doubtless true that “the world should not be too scrupulous in accepting a service as a merit,” nor be severe in the investigation of motives where an act carries with it the credentials of virtue; but assuredly this maxim of prudence cannot affect the substance of the act; and if it be predicated of a man’s conduct that it springs from selfish and unchristian principles, the very proposition declares it to be unworthy of respect.

Upon this famous debate on the subject of the Habeas Corpus Bill, the author dilates with great self-satisfaction, and some plausibility on the nature and grounds of our public rights and liberties.

“The lawyers, he says, made the plainest thing in the world, *the right to freedom*, the most obscure; and yet while any hope of their becoming intelligible remained, men listened to know through what genealogy of terms this blessing had been derived to them: a common error that I willingly censure, as if precedents brought in support of, did not weaken, liberty. Can ages of ancestors submitting to tyranny impeach my freedom? Have I not a right to be free, the moment I have the power of being so? If we hold our liberties but by Magna Charta, we hold them by an extorted piece of parchment. If the crown had a right to enslave us before, it has a right still, for then that struggle was rebellion; and what right can rebellion give? Magna Charta was but the King’s confession of his usurpation; as taking up arms against oppression, is only doing justice on the oppressor. I have ever found that such grave personages as affect to authenticate our liberties by history and precedent, are no better than those foppish tools the heralds, who hoard long rolls of nobility, but are ready to forge a pedigree for the first pretender to birth.”—(Vol. ii. p. 288.)

The above passage is likely to be vastly taking with our present popular declaimers, and with disturbers and reformers in general. But it is really nothing but trash and trumpery, fit

only to furnish out the knavish harangues of political nostrum-mongers. Our "right to freedom" may be a plain thing; but what freedom is, is not so plain, nor was the Earl of Orford competent to explain it. How to secure it by fastening the true conception of it upon the sentiments, habits, and prejudices of mankind, is scarcely within the compass of the collective wisdom of any single epoch. It may not be of absolute necessity, or of the utmost importance, to ascertain the pedigree of our liberties, in order to establish our right to maintain and preserve those of which experience has proved the practicability and the benefit; but it is of the greatest moment in the estimation of every sensible man, when plans are under agitation for the enlargement of our liberties, or the alteration of constitutional law, to recede with great caution from the ancient practice, and inherited usages of the system under which we have risen to greatness and happiness, and to hold rather to precedent and analogy, than to rush adventurously forward into the region of untried speculations. "A people," says Mr. Burke, "will never look forward to posterity, that never look backward to their ancestors. To regard every thing in our laws and government as inheritable property, is to afford a principle of transmission and a principle of conservation without at all excluding a principle of improvement; it is to leave acquisition free, while it secures what it acquires." But this is what the Earl of Orford could not, or would not understand, and it is from the want of understanding and feeling this maxim, founded on the analogies of nature and the constitution of the human mind, that this country has been so often in danger of being made the sport of presumptuous egotists, and empirical pretenders to new discoveries. Our author seems to have considered liberty as the work of a day. We consider it as the work of ages; not cast in a mould by an instantaneous operation, but wrought into consistence and shape by being acted upon by successive generations, and by the various impressions and percussions of accident, struggle, and emergency. "Have not I a right to be free, the moment I have the power of being so?" Such is the silly question of this diletante lover of liberty, who had never studied it through the medium of history or man's nature, but among the specimens and painted models of his political museum.

"Nonsensical as," according to our author, was the "jargon" talked by the lawyers and judges upon the points at issue on this debate, he thus speaks in a subsequent page, of the speech delivered by Lord Mansfield upon that occasion:

"He spoke for two hours and a half: his voice and manner, composed of harmonious solemnity, were the least graces of his speech. I never heard so much argument, so much sense, so much oratory

united. His deviations into the abstruse minutiae of the law served but as a foil to the luminous parts of his oration. Perhaps it was the only speech that, in my time at least, had real effect; that is, convinced many persons. Nor did I ever know how true a votary I was to liberty, till I found that I was not among the number staggered by that speech. I took as many notes of it as I possibly could: and, prolix as they would be, I would give them to the reader, if it would not be injustice to Lord Mansfield to curtail and mangle, as I should by the want of connexion, so beautiful a thread of argumentation."

So much for the subtleties, the chicaneries, the absurdities, the nonsense, and the jargon which, according to this author, was exhibited by the judges and lawyers in the discussion of the Habeas Corpus Amendment Bill. The bill was dropped, upon Lord Hardwicke's agreeing that the judges ought to have equal power in granting the writ, and proposing to move to order the judges to bring in such a bill against the next session. The original measure, as our readers know, passed into a law in 1816.

The extreme clumsiness of Lord Orford in the description and comparison of great men has before been remarked upon. He was, however, very ambitious of the credit of doing particularly well this part of the historian's province. The highest reach of skill in the art seems to be required for tracing the disparities and discrepancies between persons approximated by their circumstances, or talents; and here the author has foolishly adventured, and pitifully failed. He has run a parallel between his father and Lord Bolingbroke, and again between the same Sir Robert and Mr. Pelham; in both which attempts he has shown great poverty of conception and feebleness of execution. The reader, however, will peruse these specimens with interest, as the result of living observation, and an acquaintance with one of the characters at least beyond that to which any other man could pretend.

"The 12th died Lord Bolinbroke; a man who will not be seen in less extraordinary lights by posterity than he was by his cotemporaries, though for very different reasons. His own age regarded him either as the greatest statesman, oppressed by faction, and the greatest genius persecuted by envy; or as the most consummate villain, preserved by clemency, and the most treacherous politician, abandoned by all parties whom he had successively betrayed. Posterity will look on him as the greatest philosopher from Pope's writings; or as an author of a bounded genius from his own. To see him in a true light, they must neither regard all the incense offered to him by Tories, nor credit all the opprobrium cast on him by Whigs. They must see him compounded of all those vices and virtues that so often enter into the nature of a great genius, who is not one of the greatest. Was it being master of no talents to have acted the second part, when little more than a youth, in overturning such a ministry, and stemming such a



tide of glory, as Lord Godolphin's and the Duke of Marlborough's? Were there no abilities, after his return from banishment, in holding such a power as Sir Robert Walpole's at bay for so many years, even when excluded from the favourable opportunity of exerting his eloquence in either house of parliament? Was there no triumph in having chiefly contributed to the fall of that minister? Was there no glory in directing the councils and operations of such men as Sir William Windham, Lord Bath, and Lord Granville? And was there no art in persuading the self-fondest and greatest of poets, that the writer of the *Craftsman* was a more exalted genius than the author of the *Dunciad*? Has he shown no address in palliating the exploded treaty of Utrecht? Has he not, in his letters on that event, contrived to make assertions and hypothesis almost balance stubborn facts? To cover his own guilt, has he not diverted our attention towards pity for the great enemy, in whose service he betrayed his own country? On the other hand, what infamy to have sold the conqueror to the conquered! What ingratitude in labouring the ruin of a minister, who had repealed his sentence of banishment! What repeated treasons to the Queen, whom he served; to the Pretender, who had received and countenanced him; to the late King, who had recalled him! What ineffectual arts to acquire the confidence of the late King, by means of the Duchess of Kendal, and of the present King, by Lady Suffolk! What unwearied ambition, even at seventy years of age, in laying a plan of future power in the favour of the Prince of Wales! What deficiency in the very parts that had given success to the opposition, to have left him alone excluded from reaping the harvest of so many labours! What blackness in disclosing the dirtiness of Pope,\* who had deified him! And what philosophy was that which had been initiated in the ruin of the Catalans; had employed its meridian in labouring the restoration of popery and arbitrary power; and busied the end of its career, first in planning factions in the Pretender's court, by the scheme of the father's resigning his claim to the son; and then in sowing the seeds of division between a King and prince, who had pardoned all his treasons!

"Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Bolinbroke had set out rivals at school, lived a life of competition, and died much in the same manner, provoked at being killed by empyrics;† but with the same difference in their manner of dying as had appeared in the temper of their lives: the first with a calmness that was habitual philosophy; the other with a rage that his affected philosophy could not disguise. The one had seen his early ambition dashed with imprisonment, from

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\* Lord Bolinbroke had trusted him to get six copies printed off, of his *Letters on Patriotism*; after Pope's death, it was discovered that he had secured a vast number of copies for his own benefit. Vide the preface to the *Idea of a Patriot King*, where this story is exposed. What aggravated Lord Bolinbroke's exposing his friend, was, that after his own death it was discovered that he had secretly preserved a copy of Dr. Middleton's *Essay on Prayer*, which his lordship had persuaded the doctor's executors to burn.

† Sir Robert Walpole was killed by Jurin's medicine for the stone; Lord Bolinbroke by a man who had pretended to cure him of a cancer in his face.

which he had shot into the sphere of his rival, who was exiled, sentenced, recalled; while Walpole rose gradually to the height of temperate power, maintained it by the force of his single talents against Bolinbroke, assisted by all the considerable geniuses of England; and when driven from it at last, resigned it without a stain or a censure, and retired to a private life, without an attempt to re-establish himself—almost without a regret for what he had lost. The other unquiet, unsteady, shocked to owe his return to his enemy, more shocked to find his return was not to power, incapable of tasting the retirement which he made delightfull to all who partook it, died at last with the mortification of owing his greatest reputation to the studies he had cultivated to distress his antagonist. Both were beloved in private life; Sir Robert from the humanity and frankness of his nature; Bolinbroke from his politeness of turn, and elegance of understanding. Both were fond of women; Walpole with little delicacy; Bolinbroke to enjoy the delicacy of pleasure. Both were extravagant; and the patriot who accused, and the minister who had been accused of rapine, died poor or in debt. Walpole was more amiable in his virtues; Bolinbroke more agreeable in his vices." (Vol. i. p. 191—196.)

The parallel exhibited between Sir Robert Walpole and Mr. Pelham is plainly one on which this writer has collected the whole sum of his faculties. Our readers perhaps will think with us that, although some of the colouring is fresh and natural, the general tone and expression is spiritless and incorrect. The flagrant offences against grammar and syntax, with which every page of this performance abounds, saves the general style and composition of the work from its due reprobation.

"Sir Robert Walpole was bold, open, steady, never dejected; he would attempt for honest ends where strict morality did not countenance his opinion; he always disclosed his arts after they had effected his purpose; and sometimes defeated them by too early discovery. He never gave up his party to serve himself, though he has departed from his own opinion to please his friends, who were serving themselves; nor did he ever loose his cheerfulness, though he had hurt himself against his opinion. Mr. Pelham was timorous, reserved, fickle, apt to despair. He would often not attempt when he was convinced it would be right; would sooner hurt himself by not telling his mind, than attain his aim by being communicative; and often gave up his party, indeed, not to serve himself but his enemies, and frequently disappointed himself of success, by never expecting to succeed. Presumption made Sir Robert Walpole many enemies; want of confidence in himself kept from Mr. Pelham many friends. Sir Robert Walpole was content to have one great honest view, and would overlook or trample upon the intermediate degrees. Mr. Pelham could never reach a great view, by stumbling at little ones; he would scruple to give an hundred pound to one opponent, and to buy off another would give up a question that might endanger the nation.

Sir Robert Walpole loved power so much, that he would not endure a rival; Mr. Pelham loved it so well, that he would endure any thing. The one would risk his administration, by driving every considerable man from court, rather than venture their being well there; the other would employ any means to take able men out of the opposition, though he ventured their engrossing his authority and outshining his capacity; but he dreaded abuse more than competition, and always bought off his enemies to avoid their satire, rather than to acquire their support: whereas, Sir Robert Walpole never trading but for numbers, and despising invectives, and dreading rivals, gained but weak uncertain assistance, and always kept up a formidable opposition. His apprehension of competitors was founded on prudence, because great part of his authority depended upon the King's favour: Mr. Pelham owing nothing to that, had the less reason to fear losing it; as he maintained himself in the ministry in spite of the King's partiality to abler men, he had no reason to be jealous of their getting interest at court.

"Sir Robert Walpole raised himself to the head of the administration, without interest, without fortune, without alliances, and in defiance of the chiefs of his own party: he rose by the House of Commons—he fell by it. Mr. Pelham found himself next upon the list, and was recommended to a strong party by their leader. He would never have risen, had he had no other foundation than the House of Commons, and would fall to-morrow if he had no other support; for he must be undone whenever his safety depends upon himself. Sir Robert Walpole's eloquence was made for use, and he never could shine but when it was necessary he should. He wanted art when he had no occasion for it; and never pleased, but when he did more than please. I am not going to contrast this part of their characters, nor to say that Mr. Pelham only shone upon trifling and unnecessary occasions, for he did not do even that; he was obscure upon the most trivial occurrences, perplexed even when he had but one idea, and whenever he spoke well, it was owing to his being heated; he must loose his temper before he could exert his reason. Sir Robert Walpole palliated too little, Mr. Pelham too much. The one would defend his errors by a majority; the other with a greater majority would excuse his merit, and would sooner obscure and depreciate his meaning when right and clear of itself, than not apologize for it. Sir Robert Walpole could not deviate but with openness and sincerity; the other degraded truth by timidity, sense by mystery, and right by asking pardon for it.

"The one was honoured by his enemies, the other at best pitied by his friends. His most prejudiced opponents often grew convinced that the former was in the right: the heartiest friends of the latter knew he meant to be so, but never found stronger reasons to confirm them in their opinion. The one durst do right and durst do wrong too; the other dared either so little, that it generally ended in his doing the latter. Sir Robert Walpole never professed honesty, but followed it; Mr. Pelham always professed it, and kept his word, when nothing happened to make him break it; and then he broke

it for some other honest end, though perhaps far from being equally cogent.

"Sir Robert Walpole's mastery was understanding his own country, and his foible, inattention to every other country, by which it was impossible he could thoroughly understand his own. Mr. Pelham understood more of his own country than of others, though he would have made a better minister for any other nation; for as he would not have met with opposition or contradiction, two things his nature could not bear, and as he meant exceedingly well, he would have served the country that employed him to the best of his understanding, and that might have cleared up as well as his temper, when he had nothing to perplex it. In the knowledge of the revenue, he and all other men must yield to Sir R. Walpole, though he and all other men make the same use of that knowledge, which is to find new funds for the necessities of the government, and for the occasions of the administration; by those occasions, I mean corruption, in which I believe Mr. Pelham would never have wet his finger, if Sir Robert Walpole had not dipped up to the elbow; but as he did dip, and as Mr. Pelham was persuaded that it was as necessary for him to be minister as it was for Sir Robert Walpole, he plunged as deep. The difference was, that Mr. Pelham always bribed more largely as he had more power; for whenever it tottered, he the less ventured to prop it by those means, as he was the more afraid of being called to account for putting them in practice.

"Sir Robert Walpole, with the greatest confidence of himself, had no pride; Mr. Pelham had the most, with the least self-sufficiency. Both were loved in private life. Sir Robert Walpole loved magnificence, and was generous to a fault: the other had neither ostentation nor avarice, and yet had little generosity. The one was profuse to his family and his friends, liberal indiscriminately, unbounded to his tools and spies: the other loved his family and his friends, and enriched them as often as he could steal an opportunity from his extravagant bounty to his enemies and antagonists. Indifferent people were too indifferent to him; and for intelligence, it was one of the greatest blemishes of his administration, he wanted it so entirely—not resolution more! Sir Robert Walpole's friendships were chiefly confined to persons much below him; Mr. Pelham's were almost all founded on birth and rank: the one was too familiar, the other never so. Sir Robert Walpole was forgiving to a fault, if forgiveness can be faulty; Mr. Pelham never forgave, but when he durst not resent. Sir Robert Walpole met with much ingratitude; Mr. Pelham was guilty of much. Both were frequently betrayed; Sir Robert Walpole without being deceived; Mr. Pelham not half so often as he suspected it. The one was most depreciated while he was minister; the other will be most when he ceases to be minister. All men thought Mr. Pelham honest till he was in power; the other never was thought so till he was out." (Vol. i. p. 200—205.)

We were full of hope when this publication was first announced to us, that we should find in it what has always seemed

to us a great desideratum in the parliamentary history of this country, some of the speeches of Mr. Pitt, the first Earl of Chatham. We have been disappointed. The author of these Memoirs was perpetually employed in taking notes of the great speeches made in Parliament during the period the transactions of which he records; but he has shown himself to be entirely destitute of the talents of a reporter. He was in the House of Lords when Lord Mansfield delivered his superlative speech on the Habeas Corpus Bill, and was diligent in collecting what he could of it, but he has not ventured to give us any idea of its style or argumentation; not even a passage by way of specimen, though he tells us that his deviations into the abstruse minutiae of the law served but as a foil to the luminous parts of his oration. Why then not give us these luminous parts which, from his own statement, were so distinguished from the rest by the contrast and relief in which they stood displayed. Of Lord Mansfield's oratory, indeed, we have fine samples in the books of the law; but no entire speech, nor any very considerable portion of any speech of the late Lord Chatham is in print, to carry down to successive ages the impress of that eloquence which, at an eloquent period of the country, made all other eloquence distrust itself, and bend to its acknowledged superiority; which in an hour of national discomfiture "shook the arsenals and fulminated over" the land, till the energies of the nation rose to the height of its own magnanimous level. The fragments and lacerated portions of this great statesman's harangues, which the author of these Memoirs has snatched from the context by way of specimens, show us no more of the plan and spirit of the consummate whole to which they belonged, than what a stone from the ruins of Balbec would exhibit of the beauty and glory of those structures that once glittered in the sun, and over-awed the wilderness around them. We should incline to say of the passages from the great orator's speeches in general here produced, that they fall short of the standard of his son's, or of Mr. Burke's, or Mr. Fox's great displays in the House of Commons, when the India bill, or the slave-trade abolition, or the discussions on revolutionary France, called forth into full exercise the talents of these later luminaries. As far, indeed, as the circumstances of the times are concerned in the developement of the abilities of the orator, the periods of most agitation in the reign of George II. furnished nothing comparable with the times to which the great men to whom we have last alluded belonged. If we look to the size and aspect of the dangers which, since the birth of the new revolutionary politics, have at various junctures put every thing in this country to hazard, driven it back upon its ultimate resources, and called upon it to defend its life, we

shall see enough of external cause to account for the greater efforts to which the genius of the nation has since been provoked, and for that inflammation into which the casual lights of Lord Chatham's day burst forth under his accomplished son.

For the Earl of Orford's failure in the exhibition of the great Lord Chatham there is indeed a peculiar excuse. It is agreed by all his contemporaries, that no description could represent him adequately; that to comprehend the force of his eloquence it was necessary to see the man. All that Tully included under the word '*actio*' was his. "*Et vocis, et spiritus, et totius corporis, et ipsius linguæ motus,*" were all such as to make the orator himself a part of his own eloquence. His mind was to be viewed in his countenance. So embodied was it in his every look and gesture, that his words were to be felt rather than followed. They invested his hearers. The weapons of his opponents dropped from their hands. He spoke with the air and vehemence of inspiration, and the very atmosphere flamed around him. Whatever fell from him appeared to be the suggestion of the moment, born with the occasion, and complete on its starting into life. It seemed as if he spoke resting on the trident of his country with one hand, and poising her sword in the other. It was his advantage always to appear before the nation in an attitude of vigour. New imposts were the necessary consequence of his great and spirited undertakings; but while the details of office, and the expedients of finance fell upon others, he was busied in binding laurels round the brow of his sovereign, and pointing to the fields where new glories were to be won. So that it is not easy to find three years of greater felicity in the life of any distinguished historical personage, than those which closed the reign of George the Second were to the first Mr. Pitt. Every thing conspired to give him this pre-eminence. His personal character had an unfinished greatness in it which blended harmoniously with his public measures. He was too much of an actor; but he became his high part well, and trod the stage with a grace and grandeur somewhat laboured, but all his own. His person appears to have been of the most commanding sort, and if his contemporaries are to be believed, there was even in the bodily indisposition to which he was subject, a something that showed in stronger relief the indomitable firmness of his soul. In him was seen the spiritual part signally triumphant over the ills of our organised frame, and rising in independence of those infirmities, which, in ordinary men, weigh down mind and body together. The nation has cause to lament that the memory of such a person should have been left to float upon the pages of loosely compiled memorials, (for such only the histories of this period of

our country deserve to be called,) and to complain that little or nothing has been added to the meagre stock of knowledge we possess concerning him by a writer who undertook to record the parliamentary transactions of the great period of Mr. Pitt's career, with the vision of the man himself in its full refulgence before his eyes. It is impossible, however, not to see some blemishes in Mr. Pitt. And of these, according to the manner of our author, we find in the book before us a more particular statement than of his excellencies. It is the frequent error of high attainments to retrograde from the point of excellence by an over strenuous effort to surpass it, and in the ambiguous pursuits of fame to leave the beautiful and veracious road of nature. One cannot divest oneself of the suspicion that the late Lord Chatham's manner was sometimes artificial, and sometimes adopted for effect. There was occasionally some tinsel in the style of his oratory, and something forced, if not distorted, in his imagery. His natural grandeur was carried beyond its due and temperate display, by an impetuosity in the flow of his ideas, by a sort of solitary self-sufficiency, and by something of an exclusive spirit in all his great measures. He stood like Pompey's pillar in the plain, majestically distinguishable from all the objects around him, acknowledging neither competitor nor partner in his glory.

Of the first steps in the political advance of Mr. William Pitt and of Mr. Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Chatham and Lord Holland, the following short statement is given in two notes in the first volume of these Memoirs.

"William Pitt, younger brother of Thomas Pitt, of Boconnock, in Cornwall, was originally a cornet of horse, and broke by Sir Robert Walpole, at the time of the excise, when his kinsman, Lord Cobham, lost his regiment for opposing that scheme. He was then made groom of the bedchamber to the Prince of Wales. The old Duchess of Marlborough left him ten thousand pounds, and her grandson, Mr. Spencer, entailed the Sudbury estate upon him after his own son. When Sir Robert Walpole resigned, and Mr. Pulteney was created an Earl, Mr. Pitt said, "he now knew his place in the House of Commons." He continued in opposition, and distinguished himself greatly on the subject of the Hanover troops, and in his personal contests with Lord Granville, till the fall of that minister. On the coalition he pretended to desire nothing for himself; but as soon as his junto were placed in good employments, he began opposing again till in a short time he was made vice-treasurer of Ireland, and was designed for secretary at war, which the King (at the instance of Lord Bath) refused to make him; which occasioned the revolution of three days in 1746, after which he was made paymaster of the forces on the death of Mr. Winnington; the King persisting in not letting him have any place which could give him the entrée of his closet."

"Henry Fox, only brother to Lord Ilchester, had been bred a toy,

and had been voted out of one of Sir Robert Walpole's parliaments; but being reconciled to the principles of the court, by the friendship of his brother with Lord Hervey, to whom Mr. Fox was second in his duel with Mr. Pulteney, he was made surveyor of the works, and on Mr. Pelham's succeeding to the head of the treasury, was appointed commissioner of that board, and was at this time (1751) secretary at war."

Having thus shortly conducted these two most distinguished men of the time to the commencement of the period, the events of which form the subject of these Memoirs, the noble author gives the following sketches of their respective public and parliamentary qualifications.

"Pitt was undoubtedly one of the greatest masters of ornamental eloquence. His language was amazingly fine and flowing; his voice admirable; his action most expressive; his figure genteel and commanding. Bitter satire was his forte; when he attempted ridicule, which was very seldom, he succeeded happily; when he attempted to reason, poorly. But where he chiefly shone, was in exposing his own conduct: having waded through the most notorious apostacy in politics, he treated it with an impudent confidence, that made all reflections upon him poor and spiritless, when worded by any other man. Out of the House of Commons he was far from being this shining character. His conversation was affected and unnatural, his manner not engaging, nor his talents adapted to a country, where ministers must court, if they would be courted.

"Fox, with a great hesitation in his elocution, and a barrenness of expression, had conquered these impediments and the prejudices they had raised against his speaking, by a vehemence of reasoning, and closeness of argument, that beat all the orators of the time. His spirit, his steadiness, and humanity procured him strong attachments, which the more jealous he grew of Pitt, the more he cultivated. Fox always spoke to the question; Pitt, to the passions: Fox to carry the question; Pitt to raise himself: Fox pointed out, Pitt lashed, the errors of his antagonists: Pitt's talents were likely to make him soonest, Fox's to keep him first minister longest." (Vol. i. p. 79—81.)

In the summer of 1755, when the collision of the powers of Great Britain and France, in North America, was preparing the celebrated war in which our country reaped such a harvest of glory, the character and talents of the rival statesmen, towards whom the attention of our readers has been turned by the above extracts, were fully developed by their disunion and new political relations. The Duke of Newcastle first tried Mr. Pitt, and failed to seduce him. Mr. Fox was gained, and became the secretary of war, pledged to defend the obnoxious treaties and subsidies for the security of Hanover, to which the King's affection for his electorate irresistibly determined him, whatever it might cost him in America, or whatever other British



interests might be made the sacrifice. Upon this occasion the author of the work before us affects to give us an exact verbal detail of the conversation which passed between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox. "Fox asked him, if he had suspected him of having tried to rise above him," Pitt protested he had not. "Are we," said Fox, "on incompatible lines?" "Not on incompatible," said Pitt, "but on convergent; that some time or other they might act together: *that for himself he would accept power from no hands.*" This dialogue is certainly very characteristic of the parties; but how did the author come by it?

The principle upon which the author represents Mr. Fox to have yielded to the invitation of the Duke of Newcastle to join the administration, if justly imputed to him, was not much to the credit of his integrity. "He was not obdurate. A new motive," says the author, "was thrown into the scale of ambition. In his earlier life, Mr. Fox had wasted his fortune by gaming; it had been replaced by some family circumstances, but was still small, and he continued profuse. Being a most fond father, and his constitution admonishing him, he took up an attention to enrich himself precipitately." Mr. Fox, however, by the new arrangement into which he was entering, was quitting the place of secretary at war for that of secretary of state, and the editor very properly observes in a note, that if the motives of Mr. Fox were as sordid as the author describes them, would they have induced him to quit his situation of war secretary, which the text insinuates was "so unlimited and lucrative a traffic" for the office of secretary of state, superior indeed in rank and importance, but much less profitable. We will leave others to settle this balance of motives. We have no attachment to the memory of the late Lord Holland. He certainly did from this time stick close to power, and did enrich himself while in office; but with his motives we desire to have nothing to do. The Earl of Orford was long his friend, and seems to have had no serious quarrel with him, though after the great national event of the trial and execution of Admiral Byng, he states his conduct on that occasion to have produced a separation between them. It cannot indeed be denied that the character of this Statesman, as it may be collected from the testimonies concerning him, dispersed through these pages, appears in a light extremely degrading to his historical memory.

The defence of the treaties, which was considered as a Hanoverian measure, was the first great struggle in which the new administration, of which Mr. Fox made a part, was engaged with Mr. Pitt and his friends, whose great point was to oppose any connection that might tend to divert attention and treasure from the support of our American settlements, and

especially the employment of a large body of Hessian mercenaries for maintaining the safety of Hanover. It was in the memorable debate which took place in the House of Commons on this subject that Mr. Pitt delivered one of his finest speeches; and as it is set forth more at large in these memoirs than any other of that great man, and exhibits more of his peculiar manner, however indifferently reported, than any other that we recollect seeing, we will give the whole of the specimen as it stands in the work before us.

“ These uninteresting discourses served to heighten what wanted no foil, Pitt’s ensuing oration. How his eloquence, like a torrent long obstructed, burst forth with more commanding impetuosity! He and Legge opened their new opposition in the very spirit of their different characters: the one, humble, artfull, affecting moderation, gliding to revenge; the other, haughty, defyant, and conscious of injury, and supreme abilities. He began with his solicitude on the use that had been made of the sacred name of the king, so often and so unparliamentarily, and of the cruelty in using it so; formerly, a man would have been brought to the bar for using it so twice: but he had perceived for some time, that every art was practiced to lower the dignity of the house; he had long observed it dwindling, sinking! it was to that abuse he objected: no man could feel more veneration for that name that had been mentioned: he particularly felt gratefull returns for late condescending goodness and gracious openings. Nor did he as yet feel any other sensations; as yet he had no rancour to any man who had set himself at the head of this measure; as yet that man had only his pity. He said, he did not propose to follow all the various flashy reasonings of the debate, the scope of which tended to nothing but this, ‘ Follow your leader.’ He was lost amidst the number and contradictions, and should only skim over the most remarkable arguments. One had argued so strangely, as if we were to turn our eyes to these mercenaries as a reserve, if our navies should be defeated—what! must we drain our last vital drop, and send it to the north pole! If you would traffic for succours with the Czarina, why, rather than her troops, did not you hire twenty of her ships?—he would say why? because ships could not be applied to Hanover. In the reign of Charles the Second, what efforts were made to procure fleets from Sweden and Denmark!—now, the natural system of Europe was lost! He did not know what majorities would do, but this would hang like a mill-stone about his neck, and sink any minister along with the nation. We had been told, indeed, that Carthage, and that Spain in 88, were undone, notwithstanding their navies—true; but not till they betook themselves to land operations—and Carthage had besides a Hannibal who would pass the Alps. The present war was undertaken for the long-injured, long-neglected, long-forgotten people of America. That Hanover had been excepted as an ally by the act of limitation, not so much for fear of prejudices, as for its locality. But we are told we must assist them out of justice and gratitude—out of justice!—we can

produce a charter against it—out of gratitude indeed we ought, if Hanover has done any thing in our quarrel to draw upon her the resentments of France. Those expressions were unparliamentary, unconstitutional: with all his duty to his Majesty, he must say, that the King owes a supreme service to his people—would our ancestors have used adulation like this? the very paragraph ought to be taken notice of and punished.—Besides, is there any thing in the speech about Hanover, that calls for this resolution? Grotius declares it is not necessary even, *socium defendere si nulla spes boni exitus*—then half-turning with an air of the greatest contempt towards Sir George Lyttelton, he said, a gentleman near me has talked too of writers on the law of nations—nature is the best writer; she will teach us to be men, and not to truckle to power. The noble lord who moved the address seemed inspired with it! I, continued he, who am at a distance from that *sanctum sanctorum*, whither the priest goes for inspiration, I who travel through a desert, and am overwhelmed with mountains of obscurity, cannot so easily catch a gleam to direct me to the beauties of these negotiations—but there are parts of this address that do not seem to come from the same quarter with the rest—I cannot unravel this mystery—yes, cried he, clapping his hand suddenly to his forehead, I too am inspired now! it strikes me!—I remember at Lyons to have been carried to see the conflux of the Rhosne and Saone; this a gentle, feeble, languid stream, and though languid, of no depth—the other, a boisterous and impetuous torrent—but they meet at last; and long may they continue united to the comfort of each other, and to the glory, honour, and security of this nation! I wanted indeed to know whence came the feebleness of what goes upon too many legs; whose child it is—I see who breeds it up. These incoherent *un-British* measures are what are adopted instead of our proper force—it was our navy that procured the restoration of the barrier and Flanders in the last war, by making us masters of Cape Breton. After that war, with even that indemnification in our hands, we were forced to rejoice at a bad peace; and bad as it was, have suffered infractions of it every year; till the ministers would have been stoned as they went along the streets, if they had not at last shown resentment. Yet how soon have they forgotten in what cause they took up arms! Are these treaties English measures? are they preventive measures? are they not measures of aggression? will they not provoke Prussia, and light up a general war? If a war in Europe ensues from these negotiations, I will always follow up the authors of this measure. They must mean a land-war—and how preposterously do they meditate it? Hanover is the only spot you have left to fight upon. Can you now force the Dutch to join you? I remember, every body remembers, when you did force them: all our misfortunes are owing to those daring wicked councils. Subsidies annihilated ten millions in the last war; our navy brought in twelve millions. This is the day, I hope, shall give the colour to my life; though it is a torrent, I fear, nothing will resist. Out of those rash measures sprung up a ministry—what if a ministry should spring out of this subsidy! I saw that ministry; in the morning it flourished; it was green at noon;

by night it was cut down and forgotten! But it is said, it will disgrace the King to reject these treaties—but was not the celebrated treaty of Hanau transmitted hither, and rejected here? If this is a preventive measure, it was only preventive of somebody's exit. A coalition followed: and long may it last! He taxed Murray's pathetic commiseration of the evening of the King's life, with being premeditated—he too, he said, could draw a pathetic commiseration of his Majesty; he had figured him far from an honest council, had figured him surrounded all the summer with affrighted Hanoverians, and with no advocate for England near him—but, alas! we cannot suspend the laws of nature, and make Hanover not an open defenceless country. He then opposed a pathetic picture of the distressed situation of this country; and reverting to Murray's image of the King, said, he believed that within two years his Majesty would not be able to sleep in St. James's for the cries of a bankrupt people. He concluded with saying, that we imitated every thing of France but the spirit and patriotism of their parliament; and that the French thought we had not sense and virtue enough, perhaps he thought so too, to make a stand in the right place.

“This speech, accompanied with variety of action, accents, and irony, and set off with such happy images and allusions, particularly in the admired comparison of the Rhosne and Saone (though one or two of the metaphors were a little forced), lasted above an hour and half, and was kept up with inimitable spirit, though it did not begin till past one in the morning, after an attention and fatigue of ten hours.” (Vol. i, 412—416.)

Perhaps we shall be forgiven if we lay before our readers another example of Mr. Pitt's oratory. A large increase of force was proposed by Mr. Fox, the new secretary of state. Mr. Pitt, in one of his finest and most florid declamations, seconded the motion, adding,

“That last year he had pronounced 18,000 men not sufficient; our whole force was necessary at this dangerous and critical conjuncture. Other efforts were requisite, than sending two miserable battalions to America as victims. Every step since had tended to provoke a war, not to make it—and at last the crown itself was to be fought for, by so ineffective or so raw an army! He hoped by alarming the nation to make the danger reach the ears of his Majesty, who was likely after so gracious a reign to be attacked in his venerable age! to see such a country exposed by the neglect of his ministers! He could not avoid turning from the venerable age of the King, to his amiable posterity, *born among us*, yet given up by some unskillfull minister or ministers!—yet he meant no invectives; he made no accusation; he spoke from his feeling. He then drew a striking and masterly picture of a French invasion reaching London, and of the horrors ensuing, while there was a formidable enemy within the capital itself, as full of weakness as full of multitude; a flagitious rabble, ready for every nefarious action; of the consternation that would spread through the city, when the noble, artificial, yet vulnerable fabric of public credit should crumble in their hands! How would ministers be able to meet

the aspect of so many citizens dismayed? How could men so guilty meet their countrymen? How could a British parliament assemble without these considerations? The King's speech of last year had been calculated to lull us into a fallacious dream of repose—or had his ministers not had understanding, or foresight, or virtue—he repeated the words that he might not be misquoted, had they had none of these qualifications to prompt them to lay the danger before his Majesty? Was it not a proof of his assertions, that *where* his Majesty himself had a foresight even of fancied, not threatened, danger, we knew what provision, vast provision had been made? did the subjects of the crown want a feeling which the subjects of the Electorate possessed in so quick a degree? did he live to see the day, when a British parliament had felt so inadequately? That there were but ten thousand men in this part of the united kingdom; that not more than half would be left to defend the royal family and the metropolis; and half security is full and ample danger. Accursed be the man, and he would have the malediction of his country, who did not do all he could to strengthen the King's hands! he would have him strengthened by laying open the weakness of his councils; would substitute reality to incapacity and futility, and the little frivolous love of power. To times of relaxation should be left that fondness for disposal of places: wisdom ought to meet such rough times as these. It was that little spirit of domination that had caused the decay of this country, that ambition of being *the only figure among cyphers*: when that image was first used, perhaps it was prophecy, to-day it was history. Two hundred and eighty thousand pounds, the charge of this augmentation, would last year have given us security: for that sum, our stocks would fall, and hurry along with them the ruin of this city, vulnerable in proportion to its opulence. In other countries, treasures remain where a city is not sacked; paper credit may be invaded even in Kent: it is like the sensitive plant, it need not be cropped; extend but your hand, it withers and dies. The danger had been as present last year to any eye made for public councils; for what is the first attribute of a wise minister, but to leave as little as possible to contingents? How do thoughtlessness, folly, and ignorance differ from wisdom and knowledge, but by want of foresight? He would not recur, like Lord Barrington, to the Romans for comparisons; our own days had produced as great examples. In 1746, thirteen regiments raised by noblemen, who, though they did not leave their ploughs, left their palaces, had saved this country; he believed it. With what scorn, depression, cruelty, as far as contempt is cruelty, were they treated by the hour! with what calumny! He wished the government would encourage the nobility and gentry to form a militia, as a supplement to the army. He wanted to call this country out of that enervate state, that twenty thousand men from France could shake it. The maxims of our government were degenerated, not our natives. He wished to see that breed restored, which under our old principles had carried our glory so high! What would the age think they deserved, who, after Washington was defeated and our forts taken, who after connivance, if not collusion, had advised his Majesty to trust to so slender a force?—on cool reflection what would they

deserve? He did not call for the sagacity of a Burleigh or a Richelieu to have foreseen all that must happen—that may happen in two months. He had no vindictive purpose, nor wanted to see penal judgments on their heads: our calamities were more owing to the weakness of their heads than of their hearts." (Vol. i. p. 438—441.)

On the debates for establishing an effective militia, Mr. Pitt, in his speech, went much into details, and the material parts of it are said to have furnished the ground of the bill which was afterwards proposed and passed; a circumstance of no small peculiarity when the situation of the Speaker at this time is adverted to. "He opened it," says the author, "with a plain precision, and went through with a masterly clearness." It cannot however be denied, that the language of Mr. Pitt was too loaded with epithets; and when it is recollected how lavishly such invectives were bestowed on the treaties proposed for the preservation of Hanover, and that he dated the commencement of his own subsequent administration with a proposition in favour of Hanover, one cannot but see that these invectives partook too much of factious motives. His opposition, however, was extremely popular; and as he rose in credit with the nation, the administration of Newcastle and Fox declined in stability, till after a very long interval of embarrassment, and negotiation for power, the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwicke resigned their places, and, together with Mr. Fox, left the field to Mr. Pitt, with coadjutors of a very party-coloured description. Of Newcastle, our author, after enumerating the compensations which were made him and his friends for being turned out, gives the following humorous account. "All this being granted, his Grace retired to Claremont, where, for about a fortnight, he played at being a country gentleman. Guns and green frocks were bought, and at past sixty he affected to turn sportsman; but getting wet in his feet, he hurried back to London in a fright, and his country was once more blessed with his assistance." The Chancellor also retired; but it was more difficult to fill the vacancy of a Lord Hardwicke than of a Duke of Newcastle. The great seal was given in commission to Lord Chief Justice Willes, Judge Wilmot, and Baron Smyth; of the second of which persons our author gives a feature or two very contrary to all that we have learned of that amiable man and upright Judge, from the oral accounts and written testimony of one who had the best opportunities of studying his disposition and estimating his character. He says,

"Wilmot was a man of great vivacity of parts. He loved hunting and wine, and not his profession. He had been an admired pleader before the House of Commons, but being reprimanded on the contested election for Wareham with great haughtiness by Pitt, who told

him he brought thither the pertness of his profession, and being prohibited by the Speaker from making a reply, he flung down his brief in a passion, and never would return to plead there any more."

An anecdote, which, as far as it respects Mr. Pitt, might be probable enough; but we regard it only as an exaggerated story of the day as to Judge Wilmot's part in it. He was a man of as much modesty as talent, diving deep into the science of the law, without suffocating in that dense medium any of the sound sense with which nature had endowed him. To wine he had no propensity, and of hunting he knew no more than did Nimrod of special pleading. But this is one among many instances of a credulous temerity of assertion in this maker of fringes for the drapery of the historic muse.

Pitt, during the first months of his administration, was enfeebled by the gout, as well as embarrassed by the discordant elements of the new confederation, of which he found himself the head. Except Lord Temple and himself, the members of the Cabinet seemed more properly to belong to the party of Newcastle and Fox. The intrigues of party, and the influence of the Duke of Cumberland, who, in the spring of 1757, undertook the command in Germany for the defence of Hanover, drove Mr. Pitt from the administration, only to bring him back with the greater triumph. His power from personal ascendancy at this juncture, is thus vivaciously described by the Earl of Orford.

"The temper of the nation left him master to take whatever resolution he pleased. He had acted during his short reign with a haughty reserve, which, if it had kept off dependents and attachments, at least had left him all the air of patriot privacy; and having luckily from the King's dislike of him, and from the shortness of the time, been dipped but in few ungracious businesses, he came back to the mob scarce 'shorn of his beams.' The stocks fell; the Common Council voted the freedom of the city both to Pitt and Legge; and for some weeks it rained gold boxes."

During the floating state of parties, and of government, which now intervened, Mr. Pitt and his friends pushed the inquiry into the loss of Minorca,—a question brought forward only as a subject for the trial of strength. Mr. Pitt came upon the stage to act his part, if we credit our author, with no small degree of mummery; but the imputation stands only on his naked assertion. His satire is, however, upon this occasion at least sprightly, if not well founded.

"Pitt, it was expected, would take advantage of illness and not appear. But he refined on that old fincise; and pretending to wave the care of a broken constitution, when his country demanded his service, and as a pledge of his sincerity in the scrutiny, he came to

a discussion in all the studied apparatus of a theatric valetudinarian. The weather was unseasonably warm; yet he was dressed in an old coat and waistcoat of beaver laced with gold; over that, a red surtout, the right arm lined with fur, and appendent with many black ribbands, to indicate his inability of drawing it over his right arm, which hung in a crape sling, but which in the warmth of speaking he drew out with unlucky activity, and brandished as usual. On his legs were riding stockings. In short, no aspiring cardinal ever coughed for the tiara with more specious debility."—(Vol. ii. p. 205.)

It was not till eleven weeks had passed without a government that on the 29th of June the new ministry was settled, comprehending the Duke of Newcastle, Pitt, and Fox, and certain portions of their respective friends, Pitt being the foreign secretary, and Fox submitting to take the profitable place of paymaster of the forces, under him. The management of the war was wholly with Mr. Pitt, who soon began to give symptoms of that vigour, which ultimately brought the nation from the state of depression in which he found it in 1757, to that elevation of its fortunes in which he handed it over to the successor of George the Second. It is to be observed that he devoted himself wholly to the province of war, and foreign operations, the theatre, certainly, on which his temper, character, and endowments, fitted him to perform a great part; but in proportion as it engrossed his attention and powers it narrowed the base of his substantial glory as a first minister of this variously conditioned empire. The whole domestic management he left to the Duke of Newcastle, and "except from foreign ministers," says the Earl of Orford, "would receive neither visits nor court." "He lived," according to this writer, "in the same recluse manner as when a valetudinary patriot, indulging his own unsociable humour, and acquiring popularity while he kept off friends and attachments." Observations in which the impartial reader will not fail to discern a mixture of unscrupulous assertion and uncandid suspicion. The mind of Mr. Pitt was certainly much engrossed with his great schemes, and his body was much debilitated by perpetual gout; but his private life, as recorded by some of his intimate friends, and as it is impressed upon his correspondence, many specimens of which have reached us, prove him to have been no stranger to the kindest sympathies of the heart, and the endearments of domestic intercourse. He gave a 'reverberation' to our councils—he dissipated the despondency which had seized upon the public—commerce and confidence were regenerated by his vigour—his own personal character filled the country, accompanied our armies and navies, resounded in the senate, and stood forth confessed and feared in all our foreign relations and diplomacies.



The year preceding this great man's elevation to the supreme direction of the exterior affairs of the nation, was one certainly of considerable depression, and served to render his career of success more brilliant and imposing. A feeble administration with the Duke of Newcastle at its head, and Mr. Fox composing a most inefficient part of it, being, as our author truly affirms, "neither conversant in, nor attentive to, the province allotted to him, and thinking only of wresting the remains of power from his competitors," had brought the nation into such awe of France, that the terror of invasion, at this day ridiculous in the retrospect, had seriously occupied the country. The loss of Minorca, and the failure or delinquency of Admiral Byng, which gave the French so mortifying an ascendancy at sea, were events no less affecting to the nation at large, than discreditable to our government, and paved the way with the best materials for the "great commoner's" march to power and glory. The history of Admiral Byng's disgrace and melancholy end, is a matter of too much notoriety even in its details to justify many words upon it in this place, even if our space would allow it. It is due, however, to the Earl of Orford to remark that he has given a feeling and affecting narrative of this prominent transaction, accompanied with an account rather prolix, but in many parts interesting and valuable, of the political and private views and sentiments by which the senate and nation were influenced throughout the investigation and debates, of which it was the engrossing subject for many months. It may gratify curiosity, while it will be just towards Lord Orford, to extract the beginning and end of the affecting relation which the second volume of these memoirs gives us of this historical fact.

"On June 3d came news that Admiral Byng, after a very tedious passage, arriving at Gibraltar on the 2d of May, had, according to his orders, demanded of General Fowke, the governor, a battalion to be transported to Minorca, but that the governor, instead of obeying these directions, had called a council of war, where, in pursuance of the opinion of engineers whom they consulted, it was determined to be impracticable to fling succours into St. Philip's, and that it would be weakening the garrison of Gibraltar to part with so much force, which accordingly was refused.

"But the same post brought an account that occasioned still more astonishment and dismay. Mazzoni, the Spanish minister at Paris, transmitted to D'Abreu, the Spanish resident in England, the copy of a letter which Monsieur Machault had received from Galissoniere, the French admiral, and which had been assiduously communicated to foreign ministers, relating "That on May 18th, the French admiral, as he lay off Mahon, had perceived the English squadron, who had approached nearer on the 19th, but seemed unwilling to engage. That on the 20th the English had the advantage of the wind, but still

seemed unwilling to fight: that the engagement however had been *entamé*, but could not be universal, for the English kept *trop serrés*: that two or three English ships had sheered off; that night separated the fleets; that he (Galissoniere) had lost thirty-eight men, and had nine officers wounded; that he had taken no English ship, but had prevented their flinging succours into Mahon. That he had expected to be attacked again the next day, but, to his great surprize, found the English had disappeared.'

"It is necessary to be well acquainted with the disposition of a free, proud, fickle, and violent people, before one can conceive the indignation occasioned by this intelligence. Nothing can paint it so strongly as what was its instant consequence. Sir Edward Hawke and Admiral Saunders were immediately dispatched in the *Antelope* to supersede Byng and West, to arrest and bring them prisoners to England. This was the first movement; the second should have been to reflect, that there was not the least ground for this information but what was communicated through the channel of Spanish agents (not very friendly to Britain), from the vapouring letter of the enemy's own admiral, interested to heighten or palliate his own conduct:—this should have been the second thought, but it was long ere it was suffered to place itself. In the *Antelope*, a little cargo of courage, as it was called, were sent at the same time Lord Tyrawley and Lord Panmure to supersede General Fowke, and take the government of Gibraltar. Is it credible, that Lord Tyrawley, dispatched with such vaunted expedition, was the actual governor of Minorca, where he ought to have been from the beginning of the war?

"The impression against Mr. Byng was no sooner taken, than every art and incident that could inflame it were industriously used and adopted. Though he had demanded the Mediterranean service as his right, and had pressed for it as the scene of his father's glory, his courage was now called in question, and omens were recollected to have foretold this miscarriage. A letter from him before the engagement had mentioned nothing of Minorca; it only said, that if he found the French too strong, he would retire under the cannon of Gibraltar. The King was now reported to have dashed this letter on the ground in a passion, saying, 'This man will not fight!'—his Majesty, it seems, had great skill in the symptoms of cowardice! He was represented too as neither eating nor sleeping, and as lamenting himself that this account would be his death. As Minorca was but too likely to follow the fate of Calais, his ministers prepared to write Mahon on that heart, which had never yet felt for any English possession. The Duke, whose sensibility on this occasion can less be doubted, took care to be quoted too: he said, 'We are undone! Sea and land are cowards! I am ashamed of my profession!'

"But on the arrival of the admiral's own dispatch, an *abstract* of which was immediately published, the rage of the people rose to the height. The letter spoke the satisfaction of an officer, who thought he had done his duty and done it well—an air of triumph, that seemed little to become a man who had left the French masters of the sea, and the garrison of St. Philip's without hope of relief. Their

despair on the disappearance of the British fleet must have been extreme, and could not fail to excite the warmest compassion here. The admiral was burned in effigie in all the great towns; his seat and park in Hertfordshire were assaulted by the mob, and with difficulty saved. The street and shops swarmed with injurious ballads, libels, and prints, in some of which was mingled a little justice on the ministers."—(Vol. ii. p. 56—59.)

"The fatal morning arrived, but was by no means met by the admiral with reluctance. The whole tenor of his behaviour had been chearfull, steady, dignified, sensible. While he felt like a victim, he acted like a hero. Indeed he was the only man whom his enemies had had no power to bend to their purposes. He always received with indignation any proposal from his friends of practising an escape; an advantage he scorned to lend to clamour. Of his fate he talked with indifference; and neither shunned to hear the requisite dispositions, nor affected parade in them. For the last fortnight he constantly declared that he would not suffer a handkerchief over his face, that it might be seen whether he betrayed the least symptom of fear; and when the minute arrived, adhered to his purpose. He took an easy leave of his friends, detained the officers not a moment, went directly to the deck, and placed himself in a chair with neither ceremony nor lightness. Some of the more humane officers represented to him, that his face being uncovered, might throw reluctance into the executioners; and besought him to suffer a handkerchief. He replied with the same unconcern, 'If it will frighten *them*, let it be done; they would not frighten *me*.' His eyes were bound; they shot, and he fell at once.\*

"It has often been remarked, that whoever dies in public, dies well. Perhaps those, who, trembling most, maintain a dignity in their fate, are the bravest: resolution on reflection is real courage. It is less condemnable, than a melancholy vain-glory, when some men are ostentatious at their death. But surely a man who can adjust the circumstances of his execution before-hand; who can say, 'Thus I will do, and thus;' who can sustain the determined part,

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\* [The following extract from our author's private correspondence in MS. corroborates the account given in the text, and, as it contains some further particulars, may be acceptable to the reader. E.]

"March 17, 1751.—'Admiral Byng's tragedy was completed on Monday—a perfect tragedy—for there were variety of incidents, villainy, murder, and a hero. His sufferings, persecutions, aspersions, disturbances, nay, the revolutions of his fate, had not in the least unhinged his mind; his whole behaviour was natural and firm. A few days before, one of his friends standing by him, said, 'Which of us is tallest?' He replied, 'Why this ceremony? I know what it means; let the man come and measure me for my coffin.' He said, that being acquitted of cowardice, and being persuaded on the coolest reflection, that he had acted for the best, and should act so again, he was not unwilling to suffer. He desired to be shot on the quarter-deck, not where common malefactors are:—came out at twelve—sat down in a chair, for he would not kneel, and refused to have his face covered, that his countenance might show whether he feared death; but, being told that it might frighten his executioners, he submitted; gave the signal at once; received one shot through the head, another through the heart, and fell.'"

and throws in no unnecessary pomp, that man does not fear—can it be probable he ever did fear? I say nothing of Mr. Byng's duels; cowards have ventured life for reputation: I say nothing of his having been a warm persecuter of Admiral Matthews: cowards, like other guilty persons, are often severe against failings, which they hope to conceal in themselves by condemning in others: it was the uniformity of Mr. Byng's behaviour from the outset of his persecution to his catastrophe, from whence I conclude that he was aspersed as unjustly, as I am sure that he was devoted maliciously, and put to death contrary to all equity and precedent.”—(Vol. ii. p. 189—191.)

The account with which these memoirs furnish us of the campaigns of the King of Prussia, is certainly written with considerable point and spirit. We do not recollect to have seen the military character of the King any where more clearly and satisfactorily developed. But through a subject of this sort it will not be expected that we shall attempt to carry our readers. The anecdotal part of the work is that to which the author himself was principally devoted, and from which the reader will probably derive his chief entertainment. For ourselves we cannot but think that his selection in this way is in general dull, and to the last degree puerile and gossiping. Doddington's jests are strung together in the appendix to the first volume; but the matter of a common jest-book will be in general found as good, or better. Some of his narratives of foreign courts and transactions are recounted with the coarsest indecency; and, in general, we may say of the genius of the work that it is characterised by such a pruriency towards scandal, and such a bustling frivolity of fashionable story-telling, as to fit it more for ephemeral readers whose care is only for the means of an immediate consumption, than for those who look for the supply of a perpetual demand, and labour to live in competence upon the fruits of their intellectual industry. But that we may not dismiss the work without a specimen of its principal boast—the department of anecdote, we will select for our readers two of that kind which will exhibit the author's manner, as well as something new in the matter.

“I learned from Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk, mistress to George the Second, the fact mentioned in text, of George the First burning his wife's testament. That Princess, the Electress of Hanover, liked the famous Count Konismark, while her husband was at the army. The old Elector, father of George the First, ordered him away. The Electress, then hereditary Princess, was persuaded to let him kiss her hand before his departure. She saw him in bed—he retired, and was never heard of more. When George the Second went first to Hanover after his father's death, and made some alterations in the palace, the body of Konismark was found under the floor of the chamber next to the Electress's chamber: he had been

strangled immediately on leaving her, by the old Elector's order, and buried under the floor. This fact *Queen Caroline related to my father*, Sir Robert Walpole. George the Second told it to his wife, but never to his mistress, Lady Suffolk, who had never heard it till I told it to her many years after. The Electress was separated from George I. on that amour, and was called Duchess of Halle; and he married the Duchess of Kendal with his left hand. When the French threatened Hanover in Queen Anne's war, the Duchess of Halle was sent to her parents, the Duke and Duchess of Zell, who deoted on her, their only child, and she staid a year with them; but though they were most earnest to retain her, she was forced to return to her confinement, in which she died the year before her husband. Some French prophethess, as supposed hired by the Duke of Zell, warned George I. to take care of his wife, for he would not long outlive her. As the Germans are very superstitious, he believed the prophecy; and when he took leave of his son and the Princess of Wales, Caroline, he told them he should never see them more. George II., who hated his father and was very fond of his mother, meant, if she had survived her husband, to bring her over, and declare her Queen Dowager. Lady Suffolk told me, that the morning after the news of the death of George I. arrived, when she went, as woman of the bedchamber, to the new Queen, she found a whole and half-length portraits of the Electress hung up in the apartment; George II. had had them locked up, but had not dared to produce them. Princess Amelia has the half-length at her house in Cavendish Square. George I. told the Duchess of Kendal, that if he could, he would appear to her after his death. Soon after that event, a large bird, I forget of what sort, flew into her window. She believed it was the King's soul, and took the utmost care of it. George II. was not less credulous; he believed in vampires. His son Frederick affected the same contradictory fondness for his grandfather, and erected the statue of George I. in Leicester-fields; and intended, if he had come to the crown, to place a monument to his memory in St. Paul's.

"George I., besides the Duchess of Kendal, had several other mistresses, particularly one whom he brought over and created Countess of Darlington; by whom he was father of Charlotte, Viscountess Howe, though she was not publicly avowed. In the last year or two of his life he had another mistress, Miss Anne Brett, daughter, by her second husband, Colonel Brett, of the famous divorced Countess of Macclesfield, mother of Savage the poet. Miss Brett had an apartment given to her in the palace of St. James's, and was to have been created a countess if the King had returned."—(Vol. ii. Appendix, p. 479—480.)

"(On the 28th of December died the King's third daughter, Princess Caroline. She had been the favorite of the Queen, who preferred her understanding to those of all her other daughters, and whose partiality she returned with duty, gratitude, affection, and concern. Being in ill-health at the time of her mother's death, the Queen told her she would follow her in less than a year. The princess received the notice as a prophecy; and though she lived many years after it

had proved a vain one, she quitted the world; and persevered in the closest retreat, and in constant and religious preparation for the grave; a moment she so eagerly desired, that when something was once proposed to her, to which she was averse, she said, 'I would not do it to die!' To this impression of melancholy had contributed the loss of Lord Hervey, for whom she had conceived an unalterable passion, constantly marked afterwards by all kind and generous offices to his children. For many years she was totally an invalid, and shut herself up in two chambers in the inner part of St. James's, from whence she could not see a single object. In this monastic retirement, with no company but of the king, the Duke, Princess Emily, and a few of the most intimate of the court, she led, not an unblameable life only, but a meritorious one: her whole income was dispensed between generosity and charity; and, till her death by shutting up the current discovered the source, the jails of London did not suspect that the best support of their wretched inhabitants was issued from the palace.

"From the last Sunday to the Wednesday on which she died, she declined seeing her family; and when the mortification began, and the pain ceased, she said, 'I feared I should not have died of this!'" (Vol. ii. p. 268, 269.)

Of our author's politics, it is impossible after the perusal of the present work, to entertain a respectful opinion. He takes occasion to be very grave about the middle of the first volume, and with much solemnity unfolds his own particular views of patriotism and public principles. It seems he had determined to lay down his pen at that part of his memoirs which terminates with the death of Mr. Pelham; but the stream of events bore him on in spite of his resolutions, and he commences his narrative of the new order of things which took place from the decease of that Minister, with an exordium which we cannot help suspecting, from its tone and spirit, to have appeared very eloquent to the author himself. If such were so, we must take leave greatly to differ with him on the point. In expression it is contemptible; but the diction is worthy of the matter, so that it would be anything but entertaining to our readers to present them with passages in proof of our remarks. We are made acquainted in this part of the work with what Lord Orford, in the margin entitles "his apprehensions for the constitution." He tells us that royalty had become "a pageant which had little operation on the reality of the drama;" but that ministers had had the address to exalt the semblance while they depressed the substance; and that "he was convinced that prerogative and power had been exceedingly fortified of late within the circle of the palace."

Still, however, he seems to have thought that whenever a Prince of design and spirit should sit in the regal chair, he would find a bank—a hoard of power, which he might play off

“fatally against the constitution.” These reflections had led him towards, he could not quite say, republicanism, but to most limited monarchy.” He then observes that republicans had arrived at usurpation, through the stages of hypocrisy and ‘sainthood;’ yet that “republicanism, as it tended to promote liberty, and patriotism, as far as it tended to preserve or restore it, were godlike principles.” He proceeds to reprobate the violence of such republicans as had waded through blood to remove the name of a monarch,—“but a quiet republican who did not dislike to see the shadow of monarchy, like Banquo’s ghost, fill the empty chair of state, that the ambitious, the murderer, and the tyrant, might not aspire to it,—who approves the name of a king, when it excludes the essence,—a man of such principles he hoped might be a good man and an honest; and if he is, what matters if he is ridiculous?” It cannot be necessary for us to point out the lispng folly of this pretending nonsense. It serves only to show that the author was hardly privy to what was really passing within his own capacious mind; and that in truth he had no definite objects of political fear or desire. The sum of his theory seems to be that the practical constitution of things was such, that though the crown was become a cypher, yet its power was out at nurse, and would present itself full grown, and with vast accumulation of strength to the first monarch who should possess skill and courage to resume the personal exercise of it. This bank, as he calls it, of sovereign authority, appears to occasion him much alarm for the fate of what he styles the ‘constitution,’ which was likely, some day or other, to be taken by surprise by the crown’s calling on a sudden for its unclaimed dividends. And yet, notwithstanding these profound forebodings, and this dread of an economy of the kingly power in the hands of some of his subjects who put themselves in the place of their monarch, he would not dislike to see the shadow of monarchy, like Banquo’s ghost, fill the empty chair, of state; and seems to “approve of the name of a king only when it excludes the essence.” The mistake of the author arose, as it appears to us, from his not seeing that the obligation which the crown is under to act through the medium of its responsible ministers, is no suspension of the prerogative, but the settled course into which the constitution has become permanently determined, not conventionally, nor by any loss or abandonment of rights, but by the silent though effectual working of a constitution, made to take the impress and modification which the successive changes in the progression of mind and human affairs impose. It is generally true that the crown is under the necessity of selecting its ministers from the predominant party in parliament, and of adopting the system of policy which that

party espouses; but this is only saying that it is not a government of force, which the moment it ceased to be, it had no other alternative than to sustain itself in some degree by influence and favour. Whatever enables the crown to move and guide opinion, constitutes its real strength; and when we look attentively into this part of its resources we shall be led to acknowledge, that as long as the landmarks of the constitution abide secure, the King of England, by a legitimate use of his means, may at any time direct the whole attention of the nation to himself, and impart an impulse to the people, which the parliament would find it difficult or impossible, were it so minded, to resist. He has, in short, an influence proportionate to his moral virtues, and the weight of his personal character; if that is low, his power as an individual is low; if he is *naturally* great, he becomes *nationally* so; what he cannot exercise well, he soon finds that he dare not exercise at all; his staff falls from his hands and drops into those of his responsible ministers; and this is what may be called the natural play of the constitution, and the proper exemplification of the maxim--that the King of this country can do no wrong. But the loyalty of the British people will never suffer their monarch to be a cypher, while he is himself qualified and disposed to operate as a figure in the great account of the nation's happiness. And we are quite sure that he may at all times lead the political councils of the state, so long as he possesses the confidence and affection of his people.

Our author's reasoning on the Marriage Bill proposed by Lord Hardwicke, which in the summer of 1753, became the subject of vehement debates in either House, affords a curious specimen of his loose and idle morality; and whatever we may deem of his veracity, his partiality is plain enough through the whole extended account which he gives us of the course of the parliamentary discussion. The Lord Chancellor Hardwicke is vilified in terms of indecent malevolence; while the part of Mr. Fox in the debate is represented with much unmerited commendation.

The marriage bill was read for the last time. Charles Townsend again opposed it with as much argument as before with wit. Mr. Fox, with still more wit, ridiculed it for an hour and half. Notwithstanding the chancellor's obstinacy in maintaining it, and the care he had bestowed upon it, it was still so incorrect and so rigorous, that its very body-guards had been forced to make or to submit to many amendments: these were inserted in Mr. Fox's copy in red ink: the solicitor-general, who sat near him as he was speaking, said, "How bloody it looks!" Fox took this up with spirit, and said, "Yes, but you cannot say I did it: look what a rent the learned Casca made, (this



alluded to the attorney), *through this the well-beloved Brutus stabbed !*" (Mr. Pelham)—however, he finished with earnest declarations of not having designed to abuse the chancellor, and with affirming that it was scandalous to pass the bill—but it was passed by 125 votes to 56. (Vol. i. p. 301.)

Our author's way of discussing the subject shows how qualified he was to found upon it the abuse with which he covered one of the ablest men whom the country has produced.

It was amazing, in a country where liberty gives choice, where trade and money confer equality, and where facility of marriage had always been supposed to produce populousness, it was amazing to see a law promulged, that cramped inclination, that discountenanced matrimony, and that seemed to annex as sacred privileges to birth, as could be devised in the proudest, poorest little Italian principality; and as if the artificer had been a Teutonic margrave, not a little lawyer, who had raised himself by his industry from the very lees of the people; and who had matched his own blood with the great house of *Kent*! (Vol. i. p. 294.)

What were the arguments used by Mr. Henry Fox with so much ability upon this occasion, we do not learn from the author; but they were probably of the same tenour with those which were adopted by his son Charles James Fox in his celebrated speech on the bill for the repeal of the Marriage Act, one of the earliest of his great displays, and the most remarkable specimen, perhaps, in the whole compass of recorded eloquence, of splendid and mischievous sophistry. The argument from beginning to end was in substance nothing more than this:—That nature had determined the period when the liberty of intercourse between the sexes might be exercised, and man had no right to limit her operations. It was passion and not reason that was best capable of providing for happiness in wedlock.

Of his own politics and morality, Lord Orford has in these *Memoirs*, as we have made it appear, favoured us with some occasional disclosures. With respect to the tone and temper of his religious sentiments he uses no reserve, though the subject seems to be held by him in so little respect as seldom to draw his attention to it. He speaks with profane contempt of all religious observances and sacred seasons. We have made some remarks upon this characteristic of the noble author in an earlier part of this article; we shall, therefore, now only animadvert upon the unjustifiable manner in which he attempts to fix the imputation of bigot upon the young Prince of Wales, afterwards George the Third, of cherished memory! from the bare fact of his being religiously educated by his mother. (Vol. ii. 396.) Of all the weak and whiffling observations which occur in this work, those which we find in page 231 of the

second volume are the most egregiously absurd; not to mention their irreverence and ill-nature. He remarks that

"The Court at Leicester House was very differently employed during these serious transactions. Hanover was lost; in North America our affairs went ill; England itself was in no flourishing condition. How did the Princess occupy the heir of these domains? She was not spartan enough to buckle on his armour with her own hands, and send him to save or re-conquer what he was to govern. The light of the Gospel has emancipated mothers from such robust sensations. The Prince was instructed to commit the care of the temporal concerns of his subjects to Providence; and therefore, instead of sending men, arms, and ammunition, to the invaded frontiers of our colonies; with more patriarchal vigilance his Royal Highness sent them an hundred pounds' worth of Leland's polemical writings against the deists."

On this drivelling nonsense the editor observes in a note at the bottom of the page, that the "sarcasm was most unmerited and absurd. The Prince had no means of sending *men, arms, and ammunition*, nor was it any part of his duty so to do. Even if it had, a regard for religion and literature, and some liberality in rewarding genius, are surely not incompatible with a due attention to public affairs."

The note of the editor on the above offensive passage of his author is just; but more merciful than just. It adds infinitely to its culpability, that although the writer lived long enough to see the whole character developed that gave these early prognostics, though he lived to see how royally devotion sits upon the princely character,—how it sparkles above the gems of the diadem, and sheds light and lustre upon all the duties of sovereignty, he left his silly sarcasm in its place, in these Memoirs, for posterity to hurl it back with indignation upon his own memory. He lived to witness the return of a people whose extreme profligacy of manners, during the period he records, he himself has not forgotten to stigmatise, to a much higher and happier state of moral felicity, under the fostering example of a Prince, who, born in the purple, amidst prevailing profligacy, and surrounded by ten thousand allurements, stepped, in blooming youth, upon the throne of his ancestors at once a determined Christian, a virtuous husband, and the decorous model of a high bred English gentleman; and this character, he dedicated to the nation at the commencement of his auspicious reign, as the first fruits of that religious education which was the scorn of this misjudging writer. We have seen the termination of his long and chequered rule,—melancholy indeed! but yet how blessed by the still lingering efficacy of his early impressions! We have seen our late Sovereign in the lowest stage of mortal depression, but still sustained by the habitudes of his christian discipline and

domestic culture. Sequestered from his family and his people, but still happy in his holy and serene abstractions; and though an alien to all else, never wholly an alien from his God. We have seen his honour still green and flourishing upon his drooping head; we have seen his sceptre still budding with the promise of unfading glory in his trembling grasp; and we have seen the people still living under the awe and impression of that example, which was wont, in its better days, to invigorate their virtue, and to draw down upon them the favour of heaven.

With respect to the style and diction of this work, it is not worthy of criticism. It is in general vulgar, ill modulated, and replete with solecisms, all which delinquencies might be more easily pardoned had it been free from egotism and affectation. The author's use of words is often quite peculiar to himself: we shall give only three or four out of a multitude of instances. The verb "to connect" he constantly adopts as a neuter verb, as, "nobody so ready to 'connect' with them, vol. i. 123. With Newcastle he determined never to 'connect,' vol. ii. 335." With the same arbitrariness of language he sometimes makes a neuter verb transitory, as "whatever tends 'to approach it' to the other." We find other rules of grammar under the same neglect. In the passage wherein he gives us his own character, and in which he evidently intends to dazzle us with fine writing, he gives an entire new property to fire; "Maturity of reason, and *sparks* of virtue *extinguished* this culpable ardour."

The editor informs us that he exercised the same independence upon rules and usage in the spelling of words, but that he had thought proper to vary from the MS. in this particular: he has, however, left not a few anomalies of this kind in the work, possibly by way of specimen. Here follow a few of them. 'Memoires,' 'literature,' 'suffered,' 'reperations,' 'inseperable,' 'sollicitor,' 'prebeminence,' 'councillled,' 'extoll,' 'struggle,' 'juggle,' 'inflammable.' Could this be any thing but affectation? and if affectation, could any affectation be more ridiculous? The work is interspersed with emblematical vignettes, of which it will be enough to say, that they agree in spirit and character with the performance in general. They are silly, quaint, and affected in the extreme. But our readers, if they are as tired as ourselves, must be, by this time, impatient to be set free. We will, therefore, at length take leave of this noble author, happy to have our shoulders eased of the burthen of these two enormous quartos.

ART. XII.—*The Poems of Caius Valerius Catullus, translated, with a Preface and Notes, by the Hon. George Lamb. In 2 vols. 12mo. Murray, 1821.*

It is not without reason that translators from ancient authors have complained of the difficulties that have beset them. The idioms of the respective languages appear sometimes, as if by an effort, to keep at a distance from each other, so that no artifice or contrivance can bring them cordially together. It is to little purpose that rules are laid down for the guidance of those who hazard their reputation in so fearful an enterprise. Even those who legislate most upon this subject are not unfrequently the first to violate their own enactments. For this reason, in no department of letters have there been so many adventures, and so many miscarriages. They who have best succeeded in this narrow and circumscribed path of exertion, have merely danced with less awkwardness in their fetters. Fetters they still are; and so rarely are the graceful attitudes of unrestrained nature,—the flow, the ease, the happy negligence of the original, achieved in a translation, that we habitually suffer the perplexities of the task to affix limits to our wishes, and are content to lower our standard of excellence from that which we conceive or wish for, to that which is more attainable.

Hence a sort of despair, the refuge of indolence on the one hand, or the excuse for frustrated attempts on the other, has obtained for the translator a vague sort of toleration, under cover of which he ventures often to change places with his author, and to deal in expressions and sentiments born and bred in his own brain. Johnson himself,\* too strongly, perhaps, impressed with the perplexities of the translator's duty, has laid down a principle, which authorizes every addition capable of being engrafted on the original writer, provided "nothing is taken away;" thus throwing open the folding-doors to every licence and innovation, however wild and extravagant.

It by no means follows, however, that the merely verbal translator is at all nearer to his original. It is the spirit and genius of a writer that addresses us in his compositions. His dry words, rendered by a proportionate number of English equivalents, can impart to us no adequate notion of either. Strict verbal fidelity will be an imitation as heavy and as lifeless as casts taken from a dead countenance. Here, then, is the difficulty of the translator: he occupies a narrow space between two opposite dangers; he must neither confine himself within the precincts

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\* Life of Pope.

of merely verbal meaning, nor wander into the wilderness of imitation and paraphrase. But this is not all. The *manner* of an ancient author is often so peculiarly his own, and is so identified with the language in which he writes, as to elude the grasp of the most skilful translator.

It is obvious, also, that it is the sentiment, and the sentiment alone of an ancient author, which is capable of transfusion into a living tongue: but it not unfrequently happens that the sentiment has no separate and independent existence; that is, it is represented to the mind by the original word, and by that word alone. Its very existence is incorporated into it; and no dexterity of management can persuade it to migrate, as it were, from its residence. This is a peculiarity which has been seldom observed, and it is principally from an inattention to this unyielding and obstinate quality in the ancient dialects, that so many translators have failed, whether they have been of that daring class who have leaped beyond, or of the timid race who have crept behind their originals.

We will not attempt in this place to adjust the controversies that have arisen as to the power of words over the affections. The prevailing notion seems to be, that it is derived from a correspondent and simultaneous representation of the ideas for which they stand; yet this is far from being universally true. There are many general words which convey no real essences to the mind; those, for instance, which belong to moral qualities. These are sometimes used with very vigorous effect, without bringing before us the particular course of action which they imply; but their power over the affections is not on this account the less. An indistinct sentiment of love or abhorrence is excited the instant the words are presented to us: it is plain, therefore, that the mind is influenced by some law wholly independent of a precise picture on the imagination. The readiest solution, perhaps, of the problem, is that principle of association which, developing itself with the first efforts of our understandings, conjoins with certain words, not exact images, but corresponding sensations. Indeed, so little do poetry and eloquence owe their effect to the power of raising exact images, that it not unfrequently happens that no small part of their charm arises from the indistinctness of their impressions. There is also a mysterious fascination in many words, either singly, or in combination with others, and which are, for that reason, called poetical, which, upon a slight reflection, we must pronounce to be independent of all picturesque effect whatever. They excite sentiments, not as pictures of sensible, nor as symbols of intellectual objects, but as words, and as words only. There is a sympathy which vibrates upon the feelings occasioned by mere sounds or

intonations; and, agreeably to this law, words describe the influence of things, and their properties, on the passions of the writer or speaker, instead of presenting distinct images of the things themselves.

How many passages are there in poetry which convey no image whatsoever? Take the magnificent description, for instance, in the *Æneid*, of the formation of thunder: it is clear that no similar combination of sensible images could exist in nature: if the words conveyed them to the imagination, they would disgust, rather than please, by their incongruity and confusion; and, translated into English equivalents, would be a mere unintelligible chaos of sounds and images. In the original, however, who can deny them that majesty and elevation which all admirers of Virgil have attributed to them?—a majesty and elevation, nevertheless, which resides in the words, and the words only. The same may be said of the highly figurative passage in which Claudian shadowed out the cave of eternity. It is not pretended that it conveys no image, but the effort to convey that image by equivalent words in any other language would be vain.

*Est ignota procul, nostræque impervia menti,  
Vix adeunda Deis, annorum squalida mater,  
Immensi spelunca Ævi: quæ tempora vasto  
Suppeditat, re.ocatque sinu.*

Perhaps the best illustrations of the same phenomenon might be found in those odes of Pindar, where he claims that full absolution from distinct intelligence so liberally conceded to him by Horace. Is it possible to translate those passages? There are lines also in Aristophanes which are untranslatable for a similar reason. Take the magnificent words which he puts into the mouth of the clouds in praise of the ærial beings whom he denominates the clouds:—

*Υγροι νεφελαι στρεπταίγλαι δειοι ορμηται  
Πλοκαμυες θ' εκατοικιφλαι τυφω, περιμυυσαστε θυελλας.*

An undefinable grandeur is perceptible in these words; yet, as soon as they are rendered into corresponding words in English, the mere English reader would necessarily infer, as many readers of the original, who have mistaken the drift of the poet, and ill appreciated the taste of an Attic audience, have also inferred, that they were mere fustian, like that of Bottom in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

*The raging rocks,  
And shivering shocks,  
Shall break the locks, &c.*

Herein then consists what may be correctly called the un-

translateable quality of the ancient languages. So far from the thought or sentiment being transferable from the original word into its English substitute, according to the common notion, that thought or sentiment is locked up as an imprisoned essence in the word itself. With this view of the case, we shall be better able to explain much of the difficulty incident to the translation of Catullus; and we may collaterally to this part of our subject, elicit, not an excuse for certain phrases and expressions, which are gross indecencies when translated; but some mitigation, at least, of the sentence which virtuous minds must pass on that poet, and on many other of the great ornaments of antiquity, for employing them: for, it behoves us to recollect that they are, in some sort, exempt from the jurisdiction by which we try them, unless we regard them as liable to an *ex post facto* law, or convention, which did not exist, at least not in the same force when the offence was committed. We must not be misunderstood. We are no apologists for that upqualified grossness, which, in ancient compositions, reveals, with shameless hardihood, the worst deformities of our fallen nature, and exhibits the rankest sensualities of our passions, with all the offensiveness of reality; yet there are many considerations which may be admitted to temper this virtuous disgust.

In the first place, it is but reasonable to keep in mind the great revolutions which language has undergone in the gradual progress of two thousand years. Our own language, in a cycle still more contracted, exhibits many transitions and changes, which are by no means, in reference to our present subject, unworthy of our attention. Amongst these, none is more striking than the banishment, by universal consent, from the saloon or drawing-room to the kitchen or stable, of certain words, the utterance of which a century ago did not shock the delicacy of fashion, nor even pollute the lips of beauty. But a still more singular part of the phenomenon is this, that while those phrases are condemned to the exclusive use of the low and vulgar, they are replaced by others, which are supposed to be more intrinsically delicate, though conveying the same image, or, at least, standing conventionally for the same thing; it is needless to explain our meaning with more minuteness. To such an extreme has this delicacy been carried, that a rustic in our remote counties would even now find some difficulty in understanding the substitutions which have gradually taken place in the sterling English of his isle, and would probably reply in his own *patois* as \* Martine in her's:

Tout ce que vous prêchez est, je crois, bel et bon,  
Mais je ne saurois, moi, parler votre jargon.

This is, however, a singular problem, since every combination of sounds and syllables being arbitrary and conventional, it is obvious that little is gained to delicacy, nothing certainly to morals, by the mere use of one sound or combination for another.

Now the same revolution which our own language has undergone with respect to itself, it has also, in common, we believe, with all the languages built upon the ruins of the Roman, undergone with reference to the languages of the ancients. Words which the polite and elegant were not ashamed to use,—words which illustrated the reasonings of the philosopher, which either Aspasia or Socrates would have uttered without hesitation, cannot be translated without the violation of all decency into modern tongues. The explication of this circumstance would lead us too far; it is not enough to say that our improved state of morals will adequately account for it. There is no necessary connexion between a refined and fastidious delicacy of language, and an unblemished purity of public morals. It may, however, put us into better humour with the plain speaking of the ancients, if we refer ourselves to that law or principle in all languages, concerning which we have already said so much; namely, the independence of words upon the exact pictures or images of the things for which they nominally stand. Will not this half absolve them from the hasty reproaches with which we are apt to visit them upon every supposed violation of decorum? Try many of the most offensive words, in ancient authors, by this test. In strictness, they are conjoined with foul and loathsome images; but this law of language interposes and separates the word from the image. The word, at least, whether from some secret melody, or from whatever charm, was retained in use long after it had ceased to conjure up the impure image, and thus became, in alliance with others, symbols of certain passions, sentiments, and emotions of the higher kind. Now, if this word be translated, that is, replaced by another belonging to another dialect, it is ten to one against our getting a particle of the sentiment or passion which dictated its original use; but we shall be sure of the unmixed impurity of the image, which, in its primitive application, it was intended to convey.

We will explain ourselves shortly by referring to the very poet who is now under our consideration. Catullus, in verses which breathe his loftiest, and, we might say, his most virtuous disdain of the abandoned profligates of his day, uses words which elude all literal translation, but which, it abundantly appears, from the sense and context of the passages where they occur, were words which had lost their primitive pollution,



by having ceased to be conjoined with the matter or image for which they stood. It will be unnecessary to dwell upon this topic. Every classical scholar will immediately apprehend us, although we are prohibited from minuter explanations. The Hendecasyllables to Aurelius and Furius, and those to Cæsar upon Mamurra, will be sufficient keys to our meaning. We do not contend for the absolute purity of the Latin poet; but we deem it no more than common equity to extend to him the privileges of his country and his language, while we are fully prepared to admit, that, when he has had the full benefit of this mitigatory plea, there will remain much offence against modesty and decorum, that must for ever rise up in judgment against him.

Be this as it may, it is certainly not the least of the difficulties of translating him, inasmuch as it alike involves the translator in a conflict with his own language, and that from which he translates. But there is also another peculiarity, though of a widely different quality, in Catullus, which augments still more the peril and perplexity of his translator;—it is that characteristic which has hardly a name but in one language;—*αφειμία*, perhaps the classic would call it; that ineffable grace, that unaffected and negligent beauty, which, seeming to be art, no art can imitate; breathing, as it were, the unperfumed sweetness of nature, yet smelling of nothing, and least of all of the lamp. His melodies, like those breathed at random by the passing winds upon the harp of Cæolus, surpass all the artifice of studied modulation. Add to this that *curious felicity* applied by Petronius to Horace, but which is still more emphatically the property of Catullus.

Nor is this all. He has another quality which requires, in his translator, an ear more metrically attuned than is usual with those critics or commentators by whom he has been heretofore illustrated. What we mean is this: many of his sweetest but simplest effusions, such, for instance, as the Acme and Septimius, that beginning *Furus me meus ad suos amores*, though framed in that easy and delightful measure of which he is, beyond all competition, the most powerful master, and many others, which we forbear to enumerate, dissemble, as it were, their lyrical texture, and assume the appearance of a simple continuous discourse rather than that of pieces fettered with metrical rules, and broken by metrical divisions. We think that this quality has been unperceived,—at least, it has been unnoticed by his critics. It is not, however, peculiar to Catullus only; Dionysius, of Halicarnassus,\* has pointed out

\* Περὶ συνθέσεως ποιημάτων, β. 26.

the same property in the exquisite verses attributed to Simonides, where the poet represents Danaë exposed with her infant Perseus to the winds and the ocean.

Οτι λαρυακι ἐν δαίδαλῳ ἀνέμενος  
Βρίση πνίαν. κ. τ. λ.

"You will not perceive in this poem," observes that sagacious critic, "its lyrical measure, nor discern in it any characteristic of the strophe, or the antistrophe, or the epode; but it will appear to you a mere discourse, divided only by the natural order of its sentences." Many of the odes of Horace are remarkable for the same quality. Some of his Alcaic verses may be read, notwithstanding the frequent recurrence of the strophes, without exciting any suspicion of their metrical character; yet they are not the less metrical. Now, to translate such pieces into a language that has no metre, strictly speaking, must be a task of such difficulty, that it would be scarcely possible to find, amongst our Trissotins, any one sufficiently fool-hardy to attempt it. In all probability it was this intractable quality in Catullus, with a lurking persuasion, perhaps, of the insignificance of French verse, that suggested to Pezay and Noel, his French translators, the idea which they have successively executed of a prose translation. Neither of them, indeed, assigned the reason which we have thus ventured to state: they might have felt the difficulty though unable to account for it. The same difficulty seems to have been present to La Harpe, a critic, whose learning we more than suspect, and upon whose authority we would not implicitly rely; yet he is far from being wrong when, speaking of the smaller compositions of Catullus, he observes, "*Ce sont de petits chef-d'œuvres, ou il n'y a pas un mot qui ne soit précieux, mais qu'il est aussi impossible d'analyser que de traduire.*"

Perhaps these remarks do not apply with equal force to those higher specimens which are to be found in Catullus,—those which, like the *Alys and Bercynthia*, or the nuptials of *Peles and Thetis*, exhibit much of the stateliness and grandeur of the epic muse. These appear to us infinitely more susceptible of translation. And here, whilst we have been led to advert to this higher character of his poetry, we are reluctantly reminded of the unjust measure which has been meted to this elegant poet, by a race of critics and commentators who have successively echoed each other in their several estimates of a writer with whom they are only half acquainted. He has, in fact, been considered like *Anacreon*, as the minstrel only of wine and pleasure, whereas, it is on one occasion only,—his verses to his cup-bearer,—that he betrays any fondness for the juice of

*the grape; and even then it was in subservience to the tastes of a lady for whom he seemed solicitous to broach his oldest cask.*

Inger mi calices amariore  
Ut lex Posthumæ jubet magistræ.

But it is astonishing how this character of Catullus has been bandied from one to another, and received by each with the most indolent acquiescence. His verses respire only love and revelry, says one. Another says that they are "échappés au delire de l'orgie ou de l'amour."—Catullus, however, belongs to another classification. Love, indeed, of an ardent and too licentious a description, appears in many of his verses. But the poet whom Virgil did not disdain to copy, whom Ovid, and even the philosophic Persius have plundered, belongs to a higher order.—"That strain I heard was of a higher mood." Atys, if no other monument of his greater powers had been extant,—Atys surely would be of itself sufficient to vindicate his place among the first of that sacred band. To say that it places him upon a level with Virgil, were feeble praise. The poet of the *Æneid* confined himself within the circle of those established beauties and recognized graces, from which the severity of his taste taught him that it would be impious to depart: whereas Catullus, in this short poem, has soared with an unrestrained daring, far beyond the regular and licenced proprieties which fetter other poets. The metre is as wild and grotesque as the subject: it is swiftly impetuous in its numbers: in one word, it is a poem which breathes the warmest inspiration of genius, wholly unfettered, indeed, by the rules of art, but never offending against the principles of taste. Nothing was ever more happily executed,—nothing more boldly conceived, than the change of sex so instantaneously effected by the use of the feminine inflexion;—a transition which the idiom of our own language renders impracticable.\* The address of Atys, in the momentary calm of her exhausted frenzy, to her native shores,—those shores which her strained eye-balls sketched amidst the obscure mists of the ocean, is unequalled for its pathos. That which comes nearest to it in point of feeling, is the exquisite apostrophe of Alcestis to her nuptial couch in the beautiful tragedy of *Euripides*. They can best feel and best appreciate the tenderness of the passage, who have been severed widely from their native country,—the country of their

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\* We were surprised to find it neglected by one of the Italian translators of Catullus, as it might easily have been adopted in that language.

Co' membri allor veggendosi mozzì, e non più virili,  
E sangue al suol versandone, simul divenne a femina  
E pigliò &c.

*Catulla, Tradotto da Luigi Sibleyras. Rome, 1770.*

charities and affections, and have solaced themselves by imagining, amidst the misty solitudes of the waters, the beloved spot which the heart pants to revisit. Who is there that will not hesitate to allow the interrogatory of *Atys* to be the unadulterated eloquence of nature?

*Ubinam aut quibus locis te positam, patria, rear?*

It is upon these grounds that we are desirous of establishing the claim of *Catullus* to a much higher department in the poetical art, than that which the tasteless, the indolent, and superficial, have hitherto assigned him. There is, however, another class of his compositions in which he displays a rare and unrivalled excellence. He is emphatically the poet of friendship. "This is a strain," Mr. Lamb justly observes, "in which only a genius originally pure, however polluted by the immorality of its æra, could descant with appropriate sentiment,—which speaks with all the kindly warmth of love, while it refrains from its unreasoning rage,—that adopts all its delicacy without any tinge of its grossness."\* It is pleasing to repose upon these delicious spots of poetry; and, assuredly, if verses ever breathed the soul of friendship, the lines to *Hortalus*, the epistle to *Manlius*, and the affecting invocation at the tomb of his brother, "that meed of the melodious tear," will abundantly testify how sensitively alive he was to this generous impulse. The latter piece is a faithful tablet of natural and unexaggerated grief, transcending the studied sorrows of *Tibullus* and *Hammond*, and reflecting rather the mind and temper of the man than the studied and artificial sorrows of the poet. There are, moreover, other poems which give back an equally faithful reflection of his feelings; and if it were our purpose to supply the imperfect accounts which have reached us of *Catullus* by traits of his personal and domestic character, they would be found strongly pictured in the verses to his farm, but, above all, in the unimitated and inimitable address to *Sirmio*. It is in this delightful piece that he represents himself worn and sated with the round of foreign pleasures, panting for home with an ardour increased by estrangement, and sighing for that little circle of home-felt comforts, which were the fondest fellowships of his soul. And such is his joy on regaining his beloved peninsula, that he seems scarcely credulous of his own happiness.

*Vix mi ipse credens, Thyniam atque Bithynos  
Liquisse campos, et videre te in tuto.*

There is here a delightful expression of feeling. Upon this, as well as upon similar occasions, it is the peculiar happiness of *Ca-*

tullus that the best and most appropriate words start up in obedience to his summons. He is all ease and nature, repose and softness; and, whilst we hang over his elegant versification, we are conscious of that delightful calm in which the wearied heart seeks a refuge from the stormy agitations and tossings of life. It is the "soft green of the soul," upon which we recline in a temporary oblivion of care and inquietude.

But while we have been thus detained by the charms of Catullus, we have been unmindful of our duty to Mr. Lamb. It is time, therefore, to consider the merits of his translation, and to enable our readers, by a few specimens, to form their own estimate of its execution. Having, however, already enumerated some of the difficulties inseparable from the translation of such an author, candour, and even justice requires that the work should be examined with an indulgent reference to those difficulties. To have surmounted them in some instances, and to have eluded them with great skill in others, is no slight praise, and we willingly award it to Mr. Lamb. But that he has effectively translated this hitherto untranslated poet, would be an unconscientious concession. In many respects he is superior to the translator of 1794; but he frequently falls below him in those qualities of terseness and simplicity which are indispensable in a translation of Catullus. So reluctant and coy, as it were, are these beauties to the touch of an English versifier, that it is only in a small proportion of the shorter effusions that we can compliment Mr. Lamb upon his success. We have hinted our opinion as to the greater comparative facility of imitating the more solemn or heroic pieces. In conformity with our theory, therefore, we think that he has been much more happy in the *Atys*, and the *Peleus Thetis*, than in *Acme* and *Septimius*, and the rest of those exquisite miniatures, where the slightest aberration of the pencil is fatal to the copy. In the *Atys* he deserves much commendation for his ingenious adoption of a metre, which, though not generally applied to elevated subjects, has, we are of opinion, conveyed the hurry and impetuosity of the original more felicitously than any version with which we are acquainted. Nor must this commendation be unqualified. For the poem, short as it is, is remarkable for two distinct characters,—the utmost vehemence and frenzy of passion in the commencement, which afterwards subsides by a scarcely perceptible transition into those plaintive and sorrowing accents, in which she retraces the recollections of all that she had once been, and all that she had once loved. For this reason it has struck us that the ejaculation beginning with

*Patria o mea creatrix, patria o mea genetrix*

required a much more sedate and more dignified measure.

We object to the idiomatic use of the future auxiliary in the beautiful simile of the heifer.

As the unbroken heifer *will* fly the threatened yoke,  
Atys through gloomy woods, &c.

The original lines are

• Per opaca nemora dux,  
Veluti juvenca vitans onus indomita jugi.

And we protest also against the utter departure from the taste and simplicity of Catullus in the paraphrastic version of the line where the remorse of Atys is thus chastely depicted.

Simul ipsa pectore Atys sua facta recoluit.

Beheld in what abode her future lot was placed,  
And ah ! how low she stood in nature's rank disgraced.

In the Carmen Nuptiale we think that Mr. Lamb has, upon the whole, been excelled by Mr. Elton.\* But he has not failed in the exquisitely beautiful passage, where, not to fail, is no slender commendation.

Ut flos in septis secretus nascitur hortis,  
Ignotus pecori, nullo contusus aratro,  
Quem nulcent auræ, firmat sol, educat imber :  
Multi illum pueri, multæ optavere puellæ ;  
Idem, quum tenui carptus defloruit ungui,  
Nulli illum pueri, nullæ optavere puellæ :  
Sic Virgo dum intacta manet, dum cara suis est :  
Quum casto amisit polluto corpore florem,  
Nec pueris jucunda manet, nec cara puellis,  
Hymen o Hymenæe, Hymen ades, oh Hymenæe.

When in the garden's fenced and cultured ground,  
Where browse no flocks, where ploughshares never wound,  
By sunbeams strengthen'd, nourish'd by the shower,  
And sooth'd by zephyr, blooms the lovely flower :  
Maids long to place it in their modest zone,  
And youths enraptured wish it for their own.  
But, from the stem once pluck'd, in dust it lies,  
Nor youth nor maid will then desire or prize.  
The virgin thus her blushing beauty rears,  
Loved by her kindred and her young compeers ;  
But, if her simple charm, her maiden grace  
Is sullied by one spoiler's rude embrace,  
Adoring youths no more her steps attend,  
Nor loving maidens greet the maiden friend.

\* Specimens of Translations from the Classic Poets. 1814.

Oh Hymen, hear! Oh sacred Hymen, haste;  
Come, god and guardian of the fond and chaste!

(Vol. II. p. 7, 8.)

There is a melancholy tameness in Mr. Lamb's version of the beautiful lines of Catullus on his brother's grave. The condensed sentiment of the original is lost and enfeebled by expansion.

Brother, I come o'er many seas and lands,  
To the sad rite which pious love ordains,  
To pay thee the last gift that death demands;  
And oft, though vain, invoke thy mute remains:  
Since death has ravish'd half myself in thee,  
Oh wretched brother, sadly torn from me!

And now ere fate our souls shall re-unite,  
To give me back all it hath snatch'd away,  
Receive the gifts, our fathers' ancient rite  
To shades departed still was wont to pay;  
Gifts wet with tears of heartfelt grief that tell,  
And ever, brother, bless thee, and farewell!

(Vol. II. p. 94.)

We are not willing to enter into a competition with Mr. Lamb in the specimen of a translation of this little poem which we are about to offer, much less are we emulous of the inimitable graces and elegancies of the original. But we have attempted to render it, by as near an approach as the diversity of the idioms will admit, and, above all, we have endeavoured to steer wide of the accessory and foreign images with which Mr. Lamb has expanded his imitation.

Through many lands, and over many seas,  
Brother, I come to thy sad obsequies.  
To this sad spot with pensive steps I turn,  
And call unheard upon thy silent urn.  
Torn from my heart by Fate's severe decree,  
Vainly that heart, oh brother, sighs for thee.  
And now—the gifts by ancient custom made,  
Sacred of yore to each beloved shade,  
Accept—with kindred sorrows watered o'er—  
And oh, blest spirit, hail—adieu for ever more.

We subjoin, in justice to our attempt, the lines of Catullus.

Multas per gentes, et multa per æquora vectus  
Advenio has miseras, frater, ad inferias.  
Ut te postremo donarem munere mortis,  
Et mutum nequicquam alloquerer ciperem.  
Quandoquidem fortuna mihi te abstulit ipsum;—  
Heu miser indigne frater adempte mihi!  
Nunc tamen interea prisco quæ more parentum  
Tradita sunt tristes munera ad inferias,

Accipe fraterno multum manantia fletu :  
Atque in perpetuum, frater, ave atque vale.

The Italian translation of 1770 adheres still more closely to the text of the bard of Verona.

Molti mari ebbi a scorrere, nassai tra molte genti,  
Fratello, e venni a' tuoi funerali dolenti.  
Che alla tua morte un ultimo volli arrear tributo,  
E parlar, benchè, indarno, volli al tuo cener muto.  
Giacchè il destin contrario mi t' ha rapito e morto.  
Ahi meschin mio Fratello! et t'ha rapito a torto.  
Or come il rito insegnaci de più antichi parenti  
Offro io pur doni a' tuoi funerali dolenti.  
Deh tu gli accetta, e mirali cosparsi ancor del mio  
Fraterno pianto. Addio. Fratel per sempre addio.

We may justly praise the style in which Mr. Lamb has rendered the other beautiful piece, in which the poet commemorates his deceased brother. We mean that addressed to his friend Hortalus with the hair of Berenice, translated from Callimachus.

Though grief, my Hortalus, that wastes my heart,  
Forbids the culture of the learned Nine ;  
Nor can the Muses with their sweetest art  
Inspire a bosom worn with grief like mine ;

For Lethe laves my brother's clay-cold foot,  
His spirit lingers o'er its lazy wave ;  
The Trojan earth at high Rhetæum's root  
O'erwhelms his relics in a distant grave !

Shall I then never, in no future year,  
Oh brother, dearer far than vital breath !  
See thee again ? yet will I hold thee dear,  
And in sad strains for ever mourn thy death.

Such as the Daulian bird so sadly pours ;  
As, in some gloomy grove, whose branches cross  
Inweave their shade, she still at night deplores  
The hapless destinies of Itys lost.

Yet not forgetting thy request, my friend,  
My love awhile can anguish disregard ;  
And, though oppress'd by heaviest woe, I send  
These lines, the chosen of Cyrene's bard.

Lest, vainly borne upon the zephyrs swift,  
Thou deem'st thy wishes fled my thought and care ;  
As the dear apple, love's clandestine gift,  
Falls from the bosom of the virgin fair ;



Which she forgetting in her vest conceal'd,  
 Springs her returning mother's kiss to claim,  
 It falls, and as it rolls to view reveal'd,  
 Her blushes own, like me, neglect and shame.

(Vol. II. p. 49, 50.)

Our author, however, has not caught the exquisite simplicity and tenderness of the following lines, which we cannot refrain from quoting.

Alloquer? audierone unquam tua verba loquentem?  
 Nunquam ego te, vitâ frater amabiliôr,  
 Aspiciam posthac? at certe semper amabo,  
 Semper moesta tuâ carmine morte canam.

\* The following lines, being part of the complaint of Ariadne from the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, are a favourable specimen of Mr. Lamb's powers in rhyme.

"And hast thou, Theseus, on this desert strand  
 Left her, who fled for thee my native land;  
 And has thy double perfidy beguiled  
 The trusting father to betray the child?  
 Darest thou, in scorn of heaven's attested host,  
 Bear fated perjury to thy native coast?  
 Could nothing check the deed thy soul design'd;  
 Did rising pity never touch thy mind;  
 Nor e'er thy bosom to itself pourtray  
 Those burning pangs that now make mine their prey?  
 Not these thy promises so fondly vow'd,  
 When all affections to thine accent bow'd:  
 Thou never bad'st me hope a fate like this,  
 But festive spousals and connubial bliss.  
 The oaths thy passion urged thee then to swear  
 Are now all scatter'd to the senseless air.  
 Then let no woman hence in man believe,  
 Or think a lover speaks but to deceive,  
 He, while ungratified desire is high,  
 Shrinks from no oath, no promise will deny;  
 Soon as his lust is satiated with its prize,  
 He spurns his vows, and perjury's curse defies.  
 I snatch'd thee, lost, from death's engulfing wave;  
 I rather doom'd my brother to the grave,  
 Than fail in peril's desperate hour to aid  
 Thee, hard and false; and I am thus repaid;  
 Am giv'n to beasts a prey; nor shall remorse  
 Heap on the rudest grave upon my corse."

(Vol. II. p. 28—30.)

To sum up our opinion upon the merits of Mr. Lamb's work, we have little hesitation in declaring that it is executed throughout with much fluency and elegance of versifica-

tion. The preface is written with considerable vivacity, and the criticisms contained in the notes display much taste and erudition, but they are sometimes expressed with a levity not far removed from flippancy. They are not always remarkable for critical acuteness, and we were surprised at finding Mr. Lamb perplexing himself in the mazes of the idle controversy, raised by Barthius, Silvius, and other commentators of the same rank of understanding, concerning the epithet of "learned," which Tibullus, Ovid, and Marshal attribute to him. Surely Aulus Gellius is a decisive authority on such a question, when he remarks upon the word "*deprecor*" as being *doctiuscule positum*, in his epigram on Leshia. He exclusively applies it to the erudite choice of Latin expressions which the poet had probably derived from his intimate knowledge of Greek;—a species of learning which is every where apparent in his writings. Perhaps our own Milton, who perpetually affected a latinized diction, and used words in their learned, rather than their customary acceptation, would best illustrate the epithet. Thus, in the seventh book of Paradise Lost, we have,

Wave rolling after wave, where way they found,  
If steep, with *torrent rapture*.

And, in the same book, . . . .

The humble shrub  
And bush with frizzled hair *implicit*.

So in Comus (in obvious imitation of the Greek tragedians),

Within the *navel* of this hideous wood,  
Immured, &c.

And, in the same poem, where he directly uses the pastoral phrase of Virgil:—

Rapt in a pleasing fit of melancholy  
To *meditate* my rural minstrelsy.

In Lycidas also,

And strictly *meditate* the thankless muse.

To the work is prefixed a biographical and critical preface. But the biography of this poet must still remain imperfect, and the few notices that time has vouchsafed to spare us, are only the materials of ingenious comment and skillful conjecture. For the character of the man, and the portraiture of his mind, we must be content to refer to the only monuments from which any accurate inferences can be derived,—and these are,—the works themselves, which his genius and fancy have bequeathed to us.

**ART. XIII.**—*Commentaries on the Laws of Moses.* By the late Sir John David Michaelis, K.P.S.—F.R.S. Professor of Philosophy in the University of Gottingen. Translated from the German by Alexander Smith, D.D. Minister of the Chapel of Garioch, Aberdeenshire. 4 vols. 8vo. Rivington, 1814.

OUR readers may perhaps be surprised at our calling their attention to a work that has been published nearly eight years, and we are happy to acknowledge that we have not the customary plea of a second edition.

The plain state of the case is this: although the work has been so long published, it has not, as far as we know, until lately obtained much notice, and, as long as it had not, we were unwilling to be the means of making it known; but the second edition of Mr. Horne's Introduction, to which we have already called the attention of our readers, still retaining his unqualified approbation of the work, and that approbation having been already circulated in a bookseller's catalogue as a recommendation of it, we really feel ourselves bound to say something, if not by way of reviewing the work of Michaelis, at least by way of caution to the public against it.

Mr. Horne says, (vol. i. p. 614, n.) "*Commentaries on the Law of Moses*, 4 vols. 8vo. translated by the (late) Rev. Dr. Smith, to whom the student is deeply indebted for this valuable accession to biblical literature." And we confess that it is this passage in his work which principally leads us to notice the *Commentaries*. It will probably occur to some of our readers (as it did in the first instance to ourselves), that we might have been satisfied with making some remarks on Michaelis in our article on Mr. Horne's work; but, upon consideration, it appeared to us a matter of so much importance, that we chose rather to devote a few pages to the subject than to confine ourselves to a brief and incidental notice of it.

Considering this then as an appendix to our article on Mr. Horne's work in our last Number, we shall at once state that it is not our intention to review the *Commentaries* of Michaelis, but to protest against them. We may perhaps find (if they do not fall into the neglect which we really think they deserve) some better opportunity to examine them, and to give our opinion on some of his critical and physiological speculations, and more particularly on the liberties which he takes with the text of Scripture: but all these, bold and arrogant as they are, we pass over, because we think that a few remarks on the general spirit and style of the book, illustrated by some extracts from it, will

convince most of our readers, that, whatever its pretensions may be in respect of information, or critical acumen, it is not "a valuable accession to biblical literature,"—not even a book to be tolerated by Christian society.

To this then we shall confine ourselves; and that we may not be accused of injustice, we will explicitly state that we do not mean to blame the Professor of Philosophy, because his Commentaries are not practical, critical, or, in any sense, theological. We agree with him, that the laws given to the Israelites "are well worthy of our attention, considered only as the laws of a very remote country, and as relics of the most ancient legislative wisdom." This, indeed (if it be true that "*all* Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is," and will continue to the end of time, "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness"), is not the *only*, or the *principal* light in which a Christian is bound to regard "the law which came by Moses;" but it is a light in which he may fairly and properly view it, and far be it from us to discourage his researches.

But we make some conditions. The limited nature of our present object requires that we should mention three, and in them we think all Christians will agree: first, if he professes to be a believer in Revelation, let him (not only here and there, in a few words, extorted perhaps by his inability to explain some law, but generally, and as a principle pervading his whole work) recognise the God of Israel as the legislator of his people, and not give his glory to Moses; secondly, if he deems it necessary to discuss them at all, let him discuss those parts which he would not explain to females, in a dead language, and as concisely and technically as possible; and, thirdly, let the whole spirit and tenour of his work be such as to give no countenance, directly or indirectly, to scepticism, immorality, or irreligion. We by no means assert that these are all the requisites for an able commentator on the Laws of Moses; but these are all that it is necessary to mention: they are, in our view, indispensable, and with them we have no fear that a commentator will do any harm, if he should not be happy enough to do any good. To us it appears, however, that Michaelis was eminently deficient in all these respects. This we shall endeavour to show by extracts from the work, which will enable our readers to form their own opinions, and to judge whether we are not called upon, without entering into any detail of criticism, to protest altogether against the book.

In the first place, we certainly do not mean to assert that Michaelis denies the divine legation of Moses, or that he does not, in unqualified terms, admit that God was the author of the

Mosaic code. These admissions may be found scattered sparingly through the four volumes, but the general style of speaking refers all to Moses. The object constantly before our eyes is that of a subtle politician giving laws to a rude and simple people, studying their welfare, indeed, and, if he deceived them, doing it only for their good, sometimes foreseeing, and sometimes ignorant of, the effect of his laws on their future circumstances, but, on the whole (the style of the book has infected us, and we cannot express ourselves otherwise), a very clever fellow, who knew what he was about, and who, under all the circumstances, showed great talents for legislation. The general mode of speaking shows that this was the image which existed in the mind of the author.

As we had not the privilege of attending the lectures of the Gottingen Professor, we cannot pretend to form an opinion on their style and manner; but, if we may judge from the work before us, we should conceive that an introductory lecture on the Laws of Moses would run nearly as follows:

"My good friends, you have been a good deal puzzled about many things in the Law of Moses, and I do not wonder at it; for, before my time (see my works, *passim*) there never was a man who wrote philosophically upon the subject. Some "gloomy and severe theologians" have given you very strange "spiritual expositions," and so forth. Now, if you will "take me, who am considered somewhat of a heretic," for your guide, I will put the matter in quite a different light. Let us take "a philosophical glance at the ancient laws of mankind;" let us look at them as we would at the Koran, and, by the way, I will just mention my way of reading the Koran: I read "the original itself, accounting the explanations of the Mahometan theologians of just as little authority as we hold those of our own theologians to be in respect of the Bible." Now, if we look at his laws in this light, we shall find many cases in which "sound reason must really approve the procedure of Moses;" others, in which "it would appear that he completely attained the object of his law;" and some, in which he "very happily avails himself of the laws to which the people were already accustomed in Egypt." Sometimes, indeed, he shows a remarkable degree of foresight, and "pre-supposes what actually happened in process of time;" as, for instance, "Moses seems to have been very desirous that the nation of Israel should always preserve the constitution of a free republic; but still, by a particular law (Deut. xvii. 14—20), he gave them permission to choose a king, when once they should find a monarchical government more suited to their circumstances. In this his judicious conduct merits commendation." You must not expect that you will be able to give the same

praise to all his laws; for instance, that law by which a man was obliged to marry the widow of a brother who had died without offspring. "It has been commonly believed that its only foundation was the peculiar notion of the Israelites on the subject of having descendants, who, by bearing their name, might serve, in some measure, to immortalize them; and this fancy, in regard to honour, may, no doubt, have been a reason with Moses for retaining a law, of which he does not appear to have very highly approved."—"A wise and good legislator could scarcely have been inclined to patronise any such law; but then it is not advisable directly to attack an inveterate point of honour." You must consider, too, that Moses was in very peculiar circumstances. "The law of custom, as it appears in some of the Mosaic statutes, is a remnant of the pastoral state of the Hebrews; but the legislative policy of Moses is rather of Egyptian origin."—"Moses, on account of their hardness of heart, allowed many things to the Israelites which he did not altogether approve; and was often obliged to abide by former usage, though not the best, because the alteration of laws is dangerous." In some cases which were doubtful, I think that when you have heard what I have to say, I may venture (whatever amendment you may have proposed) to ask you, "whether Moses did not hit upon a preferable plan?" It appears, too, that he was a humane and benevolent person. As to the poor, "he was very anxious to promote their interests;" "for, although by his statutes relative to the division of land, he had studied to prevent any Israelite from being born poor, yet he was not such a Platonist in legislation as to hope that there would actually be no poor:" indeed, "we shall find that Moses, throughout his laws, manifests even towards animals a spirit of justice and kindness."\* Sometimes, too, he takes advantage of the religious notions of the simple people, to whom he gave laws, to promote their temporal comfort: thus he gives two laws respecting the cleanliness of their camp; and "these two regulations Moses enforced still farther by connecting them with religion, declaring that they were to be sacredly observed, out

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\* This is particularly manifested in the laws respecting the ox, an animal regarded with peculiar affection on account of his important services in agriculture. The Professor says,

"Ante etiam sceptrum Dictæ regis, et ante  
Impia quam cæcis gens est epulata juvenis,"

is the language of *Virgil*, (*Geor.* li. 538,) familiar to us from boyhood, and we find that the *Hebrews* had a similar mythology. The Prophet *Isaiah*, in the picture he draws of the return of the golden age, gives this law as one trait, "He that killeth an ox is as one who hath slain a man," that is, will be regarded as a murderer. (*Vol.* li. p. 390.)

of respect to the Deity, as peculiarly present in the camp of Israel." Now in this I really do not mean to charge him with fraud, or even priestcraft, for "Moses framed his laws without the least intermixture of imposture." The Egyptian priests, it is true, deceived their followers on some points; "but, of all such fraud, Moses, educated though he had been in their philosophy, kept perfectly clear, always speaking with that sacred regard to truth which became a legislator sent from God." In fact, Moses had an abhorrence of priestcraft: this is particularly discernible in his commanding the people not to make any graven image, by which he only meant that they were not to use the Egyptian hieroglyphics. The Egyptian priests had used this method to conceal their knowledge from the vulgar; and through this piece of priestcraft we are at this day ignorant of their discoveries. "Cursed be the priestcraft, which, from jealousy of its contemporaries, has deprived posterity of so much knowledge, and praise to the honest man, who, though well acquainted with its artifices, would not suffer them to be introduced among the people whom he brought out of Egypt," &c. &c.

Need we add more? We only beg the reader again to cast his eye over the passages in inverted commas, and, after making what allowance he pleases for their being strung together out of their respective connexions, to consider whether they do not make out our charge;—whether the author has not, with peculiar arrogance and flippancy, ascribed the glory (that is, when he in his wisdom thought it was due) not to God, but to his servant Moses. What had the "honest man," Moses, to do with the framing of the second commandment, which Jehovah himself, by an audible voice, pronounced from mount Sinai? Even if the Professor of Philosophy was of opinion that the rest of the law was devised by Moses, he cannot mean to insinuate that the Ten Commandments were composed by him. This is directly at variance with the express words of scripture. Moses gives the following account of the origin of the Law in the 5th chapter of Deuteronomy. Addressing the Israelites, he says, "The Lord talked with you face to face in the mount, out of the midst of the fire." He then goes on to repeat to them the decalogue, which had been spoken by Jehovah himself, and adds, (v. 22,) "These words the Lord spake unto all your assembly in the mount out of the midst of the fire, of the cloud, and of the thick darkness, with a great voice: and he added no more." He then reminds them of their fear, and of their request, that the law might be delivered *through* him, and not directly and immediately from Jehovah,—that the Lord heard and approved their request, and directed him to dismiss them to their tents, adding, (v. 31,) "As for thee, stand thou here by

me, and *I will speak unto thee all the commandments, and the statutes, and the judgments which thou shalt teach them.*" And, in the first verse of the next chapter, he says, "*Now these are the commandments, the statutes, and the judgments which the Lord your God commanded to teach you.*"

If this be true,—if it be really on these commandments, statutes, and judgments that the Gottingen Professor is commenting, how absurd is the language of those passages which we have collected, and how peculiarly absurd, when the Professor himself admits its truth. In a common case we could only accuse such a writer of inconsistency; but in the present instance the charge is more serious. His admissions of the Divine origin of the Law of Moses, occur but seldom, while such language as we have collected runs through the work, and gives a colour and complexion to the whole, directly at variance with the truth which he admits.

We proceed to our second charge; and here our readers will not expect us to be very minute: they will not expect us to republish what, in our judgment, should never have been published at all. We shall, therefore, only state that his details are prolix and disgusting,—that they are carried on in a wanton and flippant manner,—that they embrace almost every species of impurity that can be found in the Greek or Latin classics,—and that the style of treating those subjects, and the frequent and often unnecessary recurrence to them, prove that the author delighted in such discussions. We shall content ourselves with thus repeating our charge in a more detailed form, and we pledge ourselves that if our readers take up the work, they will find ample proof that we have not spoken too strongly.

Our third charge is, that the work tends to promote scepticism, irreligion, and immorality. This is a heavy charge; but we doubt not that our readers will consider it as fully established, if they will reflect on the nature and tendency of the extracts which we shall lay before them.

After giving his opinion respecting the right of the Israelites to the land of Canaan, he says,

"Mr. Oepke's objections to this opinion will be found in § 43 of his Dissertation. I shall not enter into a circumstantial reply to them, but only entreat the reader to consider two passages, viz. Gen. xi. 31, and xii. 5, in connexion, and then to judge. That Stephen, in Acts vii. 2, 3, represents the case otherwise, I cannot admit as a valid argument against me; for though he was a holy man, and a martyr, yet his *extempore* speech, made on that occasion, is not, therefore, to be held as inspired, or infallibly true. The promise of an inspiration, when before the Jewish and heathen tribunals (Matt. x: 19, 20), to which Mr. O. appeals, applies only to the apostles; but Stephen was



no apostle. I know not why Mr. O. accuses me of speaking contemptuously of Stephen, (*sine causa adeo contemptim de Stephano loquitur*). It is certainly no proof of contempt, that, while I mention Stephen as a holy man, and a martyr, I refuse, nevertheless, to admit the inspiration of his address, without a proof. The text, Acts vii. 55, to which Mr. O. refers as a proof of its inspiration, relates, not to the preceding oration, but to the vision which Stephen saw at its conclusion. When he saw the vision, he was *full of the Holy Ghost*, but not before." (Vol. i. p. 154, n.)

Was not he? We say nothing of the flippancy of these remarks, we content ourselves with referring to the preceding chapter of Acts, to show that they are absolutely false. The first time Stephen's name is mentioned is in the 5th verse, and there we learn that they "chose Stephen, a man *full of faith, and of the Holy Ghost*," to fill an office, the specified requisites for which were, that those who held it should be "*men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom*." And what were the circumstances that led to his being brought before this tribunal? We read in the 8th verse, that after this appointment, "Stephen, full of faith and power, *did great wonders and miracles among the people*." That, upon this, certain of the Jews arose, and disputed with him, "And they were not able to resist the wisdom and *the spirit* by which he spake," and thereupon they suborned false witnesses, and brought him to the council. When there (and before he made this "extempore speech"), "all that sat in the council looking stedfastly on him, saw his face as it had been the face of an angel." Whether the declarations of such a man, under such circumstances, are to be held of no authority, we leave it to our readers to determine.

The next passage which we shall extract is in the second vol. p. 449. It occurs merely, *en passant*, in a Dissertation on the Ancient History of Horses. Speaking of Pharoah's horses and chariots, he says,

"With these chariots and horsemen Pharoah ventured along the bed of the Arabian Gulf, which an uncommon ebb had left dry; and it happened, in consequence of a violent storm, what naturally must happen, that the horses, less accustomed to such a sight in Egypt than ours, became restive, and fell into disorder, and broke the wheels of the chariots, which increased the confusion and hindered their flight, so that the flood returned, and, as Moses says, overwhelmed the chariots and the horsemen."

We do not intend to enter into any argument respecting this statement,—its source and its answer are sufficiently known; and if any of our readers feel any doubt about the matter, we refer them to Mr. Horne's Introduction (vol. iii. p. 48), where they

will find the subject very concisely and satisfactorily discussed. But, as we have said, we do not mean to enter into any such questions. We only protest against (may we make such a word?) the Gibbonism of introducing these sceptical objections, as matters of course, in the midst of discussions with which they have no connexion whatever.

In the third volume (p. 216), in speaking of the festivals kept by the Jews, but not appointed by the law, he mentions

“The strange feast of *Purim*, in which Haman is still belaboured, and to which my applying the epithet *strange*, will not give offence to any person who is acquainted with the manner in which it was and is kept. Whether the book of Esther, in which it is appointed, merits a place among the inspired writings, is a point concerning which the reader will find my ideas, along with those of other writers, in my *Orient. Biblioth.* part ii. No. 19. In the time of the Maccabees the Jews in Palestine do not seem to have been yet acquainted with this festival. See my remark on 1 Mac. vii. 48.”

We notice this passage because Michaelis seems to go out of his way to cast this reflection upon a part of the received canon of scripture. He is constantly reminding the reader, that, as a commentator on the Law of Moses, he has nothing to do with any rite, law, or custom, which is not prescribed in that law; and when it is necessary to mention any such, he avoids the discussion, as irrelevant to his purpose. But this opportunity of throwing a doubt on a book of scripture, and referring to two of his own, he did not choose to let slip.

In the same volume (p. 427), after stating that by the law the body of a criminal was not to remain suspended all night, he adds,

“No doubt it appears from 2 Sam. xxi. 6. 9—11., that the bodies of some descendants of Saul, who had been delivered over to the Gibeonites for execution, as an atonement for his cruelty, were by them allowed to remain suspended for a long time: but, in the *first* place, with this affair the Israelites had no concern; but only the Gibeonites, who were of Canaanitish origin, and, perhaps, still lived in their four cities, according to their old law; and, in the *next*, the whole story, both in matter and expression, is so strange, that it may be doubted whether it really be a genuine part of the book of Samuel, and not one of those large interpolations whereof critics have conceived that they have detected several in this part of scripture.”

Now, whether the passage alluded to is, or is not genuine, is a question with which a commentator on the Law of Moses, in the strict sense to which Michaelis professes to confine himself, has nothing to do: according to his statement, if the story be true, it relates to a people who did not profess to obey the Law

of Moses, and does not, directly or indirectly, throw any light upon that law. Nevertheless, if he had chosen to digress, and to discuss the question, he had a perfect right to do it: our objection lies against the flippant assertion, that it is such a strange story that it may be doubted whether it is not *one* of those *large* interpolations (how many they are nobody knows) whereof critics (all? or how many?) have conceived that they have detected several in this part of scripture. And this assertion is made on no other ground than that, for some reasons which he does not condescend to mention, it appears to be a strange story. We ask how far he who proposes to reject any part of the scripture, *simply* on the ground that it is a *strange story*, is removed from an infidel?

In the fourth volume (p. 143) he speaks of the punishment of adultery, and notices the discrepancy between some of the Rabbins (and, by the way, this is almost the only occasion on which he thinks it worth while to discuss any of their opinions, holding them, on other occasions, in utter contempt), and the account given in the eighth chapter of St. John's Gospel, of the woman taken in adultery. After giving such reasons as he deems sufficient for preferring the latter, he proceeds,

"But I will yet add, *ex superabundante*, the following observations, because authors, one after another, are continually insinuating very whimsical objections against the story in John viii., and very illogically putting the opinions of the Talmudists on a footing, in point of authority, with historical evidence."

As our readers, probably, do not stand in need of these observations, we shall pass them all over, except the last, which is perfectly characteristic of the author.

"The whole story is so excellent, that we must be inclined to wish it were true, even though, as critics, we might doubt its authenticity; which, however, I, for my part, cannot bring myself to do: but if it be fictitious, the person, whoever he was, that forged it, and fathered it upon the evangelist John, must really have been a man of abilities."

We add no more on this point: if such stuff as we have been transcribing is not calculated to lead the young and uninformed to direct and general scepticism, and does not, in style and consequence, strongly resemble the writings of the French deistical school, we will acknowledge that we have unfairly accused Michaelis, and that we are unfit for the office which we have assumed.

We proceed to mention the grounds on which we charge the Commentaries with having a tendency to promote immorality and irreligion. Not only does the author luxuriate in the dis-

cussion of subjects which can scarcely be treated with decency, but, with regard to almost all subjects connected with morals and religion, he manifests a most unchristian laxity of sentiment.

Let the reader take the following specimens on the subjects of suicide, drunkenness, swearing, keeping the sabbath, and duelling.

As to the first of these Michaelis seems to be in doubt whether it is by any means unlawful:—but let him speak for himself.

“Moses has nowhere prohibited suicide; for to drag the sixth commandment, *Thou shalt not murder*, into a prohibition of this crime, of which there is not a word in it, is a very arbitrary mode of explanation, and much of a piece with our *Spiritual Expositions* (as they are called) of the Ten Commandments.”\* (iv. 207.)

Again (at p. 209), he says:

“I look upon it as a real act of goodness on the part of God, that we nowhere in the Bible find an explicit decision of the question, whether suicide be a sin; this very interesting question being left entirely to the decision of philosophical ethics, and to the common sense (shall I say?) or the conscience of every individual.”

And in the next page:

“Whether the man who is determined to destroy himself, be, in the decisive moment of death, guilty of a deliberate sin, or only a sin of ignorance, no theologian, nor indeed any philosopher, will regard as one and the same thing; and, considering the silence of the Bible, which here leaves us in uncertainty or ignorance, for the same reason as God, under the Old Testament, suffered many sins of ignorance, Polygamy, for instance, in the patriarchs, without revealing them to them;—and as he certainly must still to every one of us, overlook sins of the same description, which, if we knew them, they would not be;—it is possible, that some suicides, who even prepared themselves conscientiously for the great step they meditated, are now in heaven (God not imputing to them their sins of ignorance), who must have been damned, if the Bible had been written in the style which many zealous and well meaning moralists would wish.”

Again (in p. 482), he mentions the case of a German who having, “merely from too nice a sense of honour committed a murder, for which he was sentenced to the gallows, dispatched himself in prison with poison.” This occurred in England, and our newspapers, by their remarks on this suicide, excited the

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\* These *Spiritual Expositions* are very offensive to Michaelis. In the fourth vol. p. 302, he says, “The promise added to the fifth commandment, has as little reference to mankind at large, as the Decalogue in general; which contains many things addressed only to the people of Israel:

surprise of the German professor. "They even," says he, "moralized on the heinous sin he had committed; just as if it were not one and the same thing, whether the man who must die, lets himself be hanged, or, like *Socrates*, drinks a cup of poison."

We must just remark that it does not appear to us that it is "one and the same thing," whether a man "lets himself be hanged"; (we hardly understand the expression) by others, in pursuance of a legal sentence, or anticipates the execution of that sentence by suicide.

As to drunkenness, there were good reasons why Moses should strictly prohibit this offence in a southern climate where it often leads to mischief; but with us, it seems, the case is different.

"Among us the case of a drunkard doing mischief is really not very frequent. No doubt we see instances of people under the influence of liquor; but then they are neither so determined on mischief, nor yet so extravagant as in warmer climates. How it comes to pass I know not; but we certainly often find them quite rational, friendly, and affable; and there are men of particular temperaments, on whom, if we wish to make any impression, we must previously ply them with drink. In no place whatever have I had it in my power to make remarks on people overcome with liquor, in such numbers as in London, and I shall now mention how they appeared to me, not by tens, but by thousands. In the vicinity of that metropolis, though I have on a Sunday walked some miles, through long strings of them returning from the country, yet not one of them ever said a word to me; so that I had much amusement in making such experiments on the harmlessness of their intemperance, the reality of which I had no difficulty in ascertaining, as they staggered lustily along. Once only was I addressed by a person, who pointed to the sun, sinking in the west, and very politely begged to know what it was. A friend, who accompanied me, was indeed rather more unlucky; for happening, out of the abundance of his benevolence, to call to a very drunken rider that his horse was in some danger or other, the man appeared to take it much amiss; though nothing more serious followed than his exclaiming after him, *Damn your blood*, perhaps a hundred times as he rode along. So harmless is northern drunkenness." (iv. 307.)

We should be inclined to say that Sunday drunkenness, though it should lead to nothing more than profane swearing, was not entirely harmless, even in a political view; but on these points we should differ widely from the Professor. As to the observance of the Sabbath, after stating that some seasons of recreation are necessary, he says, (iii. 154,)

"There arises then a moral and political question, 'Can the day of divine worship be aptly united with the day of rest and enjoyment?' For my own part I think it may, provided only we do not include all

manner of vicious excesses under the term enjoyment : and, in fact, the question has been already thus unanimously decided many thousand years ago, by almost all the nations on the face of the earth; however much many gloomy moralists, of these later times, may have condemned entertainments, dancing, playing, and even afternoon companies and visits as profanations of Sunday, and zealously, although much too late, endeavoured to prevent them."

Again, as to swearing, we extract the following passages, not only for the sentiments but the style:—"Moses made no such enactments as they have in England against cursing and swearing, by which, for every single *damn*, the penalty, I think, of a shilling (eight good *groschen*) is incurred; nor, in fact, do they serve any good purpose, but to betray holy zeal, without any knowledge of the world; for they can never be enforced." (iv. 111.)

Proceeding to state that Moses did not mean by Lev. v. 1, to "convert the whole people into downright informers," for he "by no means patronized persons of that character," he adds, "Upon the whole, we are under no general obligation to notify every bad thing that comes under our observation; and such unmeaning curses, as, the *God damn* of an Englishman, or *der Teufel hole* (the devil take,) of a German, do so little harm, that we can conceive no reason why they should be noticed for any such purpose." (iv. 113.) Indeed, from a passage in the same volume, it seems as if the professor himself was in the habit of using such language. Speaking of the cursing of father or mother, mentioned in Ex. xxi. 17, he refers it to the making such vows as our Saviour forbids in Matt. xv. 4—6. "This," he says, "is not imprecating upon them a curse, in the common style of curses, which but evaporate into air, because neither the *devil*, nor the *lightning* are wont to be so obsequious, as to obey our wishes every time we call upon the one to *take*, or the other to *strike dead*, our adversaries." (iv. 301.)

The former imprecation we should scarcely suppose Michaelis to have used, as he seems to ridicule the idea of Satanic agency. He appears to consider it as a notion which the Israelites picked up from the Babylonians: "For in the Biblical writings, prior to the Babylonish captivity, we meet with very little notice of the devil; and it would seem, that the effects which he could produce on the material world were considered as but very trifling." (iv. 82.) How this is reconciled with his opinion that the book of Job was written by Moses, we do not know.

As to duelling we will only transcribe the witty reply which General Field Marshal Von Natzmer, a very brave man, and a *very strict* Christian, gave to the late King of Prussia, when he asked him, in a company, how he would act if any one should

call him out.—“I cannot,” said he, “say for certain beforehand. Were *the Christian* at home, he certainly would not go; but, if the challenger only found *Natzmer* at home, he might then . . . . . but I shall not say what would be the consequence.”

We imagine that “the Christian” was not at home when Michaelis wrote the passages which we have extracted. Indeed some things in the *Commentaries* lead us to suspect that his moral feeling was not very refined. We confess that we were a little surprised to find him, in one of the passages which we have quoted, talking coolly of the necessity of plying some persons with drink, if we wish to make an impression upon them. We will grant this learned instructor all reasonable allowances; we admit that, as a public lecturer, who frequently took occasion to lay before his hearers speculations which no sober man could receive, he might find it *expedient* to “ply them with drink;” but we cannot admit that it was *proper*.

Again, his idea of an honourable man rather surprised us. He states, (ii. 370,) “Hunger or appetite often hurries a man, of the most honourable principles, to devour grapes and other eatables that are not watched.”

But we will add no more; we think our readers will allow that we have substantiated our charge—and that, if the book really contains what we have transcribed, it cannot (whatever else it may contain) be considered as “a valuable accession to Biblical literature” or even a book to be tolerated in Christian society.

## BROWN'S PHILOSOPHY OF THE HUMAN MIND.

ART. XIV. *Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind.* By the late Thomas Brown, M. D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. In Four volumes, 8vo. Edinburgh, 1820.

It has been sometimes lamented that there is no royal road to metaphysics—no short and easy method of mastering the philosophy of intellect without the toil of deep reflection and patient observation. The other sciences are not liable to the same objection, and have therefore, for the most part, obtained a lasting popularity. But this branch of knowledge has other pe-

culiar disadvantages. It requires the most severe labour, and yet promises no result which can attract notice from the great body of mankind, no discovery to interest the vulgar, no tangible benefit to command the thanks and praises of the world. He must be, indeed, a vain enthusiast who can fancy that any thing which has been done, or ever can be done in metaphysics, will affect the course of affairs in the world, or change the general system of human conduct.

The extensive diffusion of knowledge among all classes of society, which is so remarkable in modern times, has made the improvements in science intelligible and interesting to the bulk of mankind. As this has excited the ambition, and gratified the vanity of the learned, it has encouraged them to proceed with greater ardour. But it is only of the experimental sciences that the knowledge has been thus generally imparted. The abstract and speculative branches of philosophy are still as much as ever unknown and uninteresting to the vulgar; and they must be studied without any hope that the utmost progress in them is to be encouraged by the public sympathy, or cheered by the public applause. We need not, therefore, wonder that the taste for metaphysics has greatly declined among the learned, since it is a science in which the extent of their proficiency can never be generally understood, and in which, indeed, there is nothing to attract the popular attention.

When Lord Monboddo, a man who with all his eccentricities was a very profound scholar, published an elaborate treatise, which he entitled "*Antient Metaphysics*," he guessed, very accurately, that the name would be considered uncouth and in-attractive. Accordingly, he says in his preface, "The reader cannot blame the author for a deceit, common enough at present, of imposing upon him by a specious title. I have chosen one which, so far from alluring readers, will frighten many from opening the book; nor do I believe that there is a bookseller in Great Britain who, upon the credit of my title page, would offer me a shilling for my copy, if I had a mind to sell it. Indeed the subject is altogether unfashionable, not only among the vulgar, who ridicule it under the name of *metaphysic*, but even among the philosophers of the present age."

To the common sort of men the devotion to metaphysical studies seems a harmless infatuation: and yet, as they have engaged the attention of men of the most amiable temper, the highest attainments, and the most brilliant genius,—and as works have been produced in this department of philosophy which are the most splendid ornaments to the literature of the country, there is enough to be said for it, one would think, to redeem it from absolute neglect. He must be a scholar of little intel-



lectual zeal, who could give up to vulgar obloquy those studies on which Mr. Locke bestowed the strongest efforts of his powerful mind.

Our countrymen, however, have always been disposed to rest satisfied with the labours of Mr. Locke, and in this they have, perhaps, done wisely. The success of those among them who have attempted to proceed farther, has not been such as to induce a persuasion that much could be gained by the pursuit. But while these studies were so much abandoned in England, they were vigorously prosecuted in Scotland and in Germany. So many new systems and theories have been in their turn constructed and overthrown, old errors have been revived and refuted so often, that the actual amount of what has been added to the stock of intellectual knowledge, beyond the correction of some errors (which were certainly very important in their consequences), and some reform in the mode of conducting the discussions, is by no means adequate to the labour and assiduity which has produced it. The works of Dr. Reid certainly effected a very salutary reform in this branch of philosophy, which, at the time in which he wrote, had become involved in absurdity and error. It has been very truly said of his writings, by one who was singularly well qualified to judge of their merit, that they rescued the philosophy of the human mind from a state that rendered it unworthy of the name of science, and a reproach to the human understanding; an object of contempt to the wise, of detestation to the good, and of well-merited reproach, even to the vulgar.

The imperfection of our faculties accounts for the slow progress which has been made in this department of philosophy; and as it includes nothing which can be considered as the object of strict discovery, such progress as is really made can be less distinctly observed. Dr. Priestley, a man of considerable talent, but of extraordinary presumption, among his manifold errors and extravagancies, betook himself to the making of discoveries in metaphysics; but D'Alembert, who had accurate views of the boundaries of human knowledge, struck with the absurdity of pretending to make discoveries of this kind, expressed his feelings upon it forcibly enough to one of his friends who having mentioned the name of Priestley to him, added—

“C'est un homme qui a fait des grandes decouvertes dans la physique et dans la metaphysique.—

D'ALEMBERT—“*Decouvertes dans la metaphysique! Diable!*”

The truth is, that discovery, which may be considered as one of the proper objects of physical science, is altogether beyond the province of that knowledge which relates to the nature and faculties of the human mind.

" Il n'y a proprement que trois genres de connoissances, ou les decouvertes n'aient pas lieu; *l'erudition*, parceque les faits ne se devinent et ne s'inventent pas; la *metaphysique* parceque les faits se trouvent au dedans de nous memes; la *theologie* parceque le depôt de la Foi est inalterable, et qu'il ne sauroit y avoir de revelation nouvelle."

*D'Alembert, Melanges, tom. 4, 292.*

The true objects of metaphysical knowledge are, to become acquainted with the nature of our mental faculties, and to ascertain what are the subjects on which it is, or is not, fit that these faculties should be employed. It was with these views that Mr. Locke undertook the studies which produced his *Essay on the Human Understanding*; and he has, with an interesting simplicity, informed us in what manner his attention was first drawn to the subject. He tells us, that five or six friends meeting at his chamber, and discoursing on a subject very remote from metaphysics, found themselves quickly at a stand, by the difficulties which rose on every side. After having puzzled themselves, without coming any nearer to a resolution of the doubts which perplexed them, he says, it came into his thoughts that they took a wrong course; and that, before setting themselves upon inquiries of that nature, they should examine their own abilities, and see what objects the human understanding was, or was not, fitted to deal with.

Unfortunately for the advancement of knowledge, those who followed Mr. Locke have not always pursued these studies with the same design. And whoever considers the present state of intellectual science will have too much occasion to observe, that most of the errors and heresies from which it has been freed, and many of those which still infest it, have originated in mistaken views as to its proper object. This observation occurs to us very forcibly, from the perusal of the lectures of Doctor Brown, which embrace a sweeping and ambitious view of the whole Philosophy of the Human Mind, and aspire to introduce into it some principles so extraordinary, as to demand a very serious examination.

Doctor Thomas Brown, the author of these lectures, was reputed a very excellent metaphysician, in a country where the knowledge of the human mind has been long cultivated with assiduity and success. This reputation he enjoyed among the most distinguished philosophers of the north, and it raised him, at a very early age, to the professorship of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, as the colleague and successor of Mr. Dugald Stewart. His death, which happened lately, while he was yet in the most vigorous period of life, and in the ardent pursuit of those studies to which he was so much devoted, was lamented among his friends as a heavy loss to the

interests of science, and as cutting off those bright hopes which had been entertained of lasting and extensive benefits from the matured labours of a mind so richly gifted.

These circumstances impart a considerable degree of interest to the volumes before us, as they are a posthumous publication, and contain the substance of those lectures which the author delivered as the course of instruction for the students of moral philosophy in the University of Edinburgh.

The chief merit of the work is the amiable and temperate disposition which pervades every part of it. It breathes throughout a pure and refined spirit of philosophy, which must win the approbation of those who are hostile to the new doctrines which it contains. The prevailing error seems to be, that the author has aspired too much to explore new paths, and has fallen somewhat into the mistake of Priestley, by expecting to make discoveries. This disposition he has indulged, by applying to the operations of pure intellect those rules and modes of reasoning which properly belong to the material world. He has even adopted the language and expressions hitherto used only in physical or mechanical philosophy. By following this course he has fallen into many strange mistakes: and, although he had proceeded so far as to have constructed a new system founded on these principles, we cannot but think that further study and experience would have made him abandon the errors into which he was thus betrayed. He would (we think), in the end, have ascertained that some of his predecessors had proceeded on principles more just, on a knowledge of the human mind more extensive and profound than that which he had at first observed in their works. Without aiming at that vast revolution in the philosophy of the human mind which he endeavoured to achieve, he would still have been able to increase the sum of our knowledge,—to resolve many of the doubts and difficulties by which researches into the operations of intellect have been obscured, and to infuse a spirit less speculative and more practical into the study of metaphysics. The most aspiring philosopher need not have sought for any higher praise.

More than half the number of Doctor Brown's lectures is devoted to an investigation of the faculties of the human mind; afterwards they treat of the passions and emotions; and the latter part contains a series of disquisitions purely ethical, or what may be called his system of Moral Philosophy. Thus, he leads us over the whole range of that almost undefined science which is called the philosophy of the human mind.

It is on the first part, or that which relates to the nature of mind, that the author expatiates most fully; and in it he advances those new doctrines by which he sought to change the

entire system of metaphysics. In our endeavour to give a description of the novelties which he has disclosed to us, we shall adhere as much as possible to the very language in which they are set forth in these lectures. This, however, is not very easily done. The style is so diffusive, that it is seldom possible to fix upon any short passages in which his notions are accurately and clearly stated; which is the more to be regretted, since, as has been often enough observed, the great proportion of metaphysical dissertations consists of mere verbal disputes and mistakes. This is an old reproach against the metaphysicians, and Doctor Brown attacks his predecessors very warmly for having so justly deserved it. It is, on this account, the less easy to excuse him, when we find him running himself into the same fault; and, indeed, throughout the whole of this work, taking very little pains to avoid it.

A more bold attempt has seldom been made than this of Doctor Brown to overthrow the whole of that doctrine, according to which, the human mind has been considered as a combination of various faculties and powers. From his metaphysical vocabulary the very words *faculty* and *power* he would have absolutely banished. He has not simply aspired to reform the divisions and classification of the mental faculties which have been so long established—he has gone so far as to treat the human mind, in its essence and constitution, as something entirely different from that which it has hitherto been considered. In short, the prevailing principle of his system, so far as we can briefly describe it, is to consider the human mind as of a passive rather than an active existence. If this notion be correct, it is plain that the wisest among the many philosophers who have preceded him, were but losing themselves in a sad course of blunders, even in those speculations which have passed current with the world as the greatest efforts of the human understanding.

It would, indeed, be too much to assert that the system, which is now generally adopted as to the division of the intellectual faculties, is in every respect perfect. We would readily concede to the advocates of Doctor Brown's system (if, indeed, it has any advocates), that many difficulties attend every classification or division of these faculties. But it is of the very essence of every analytical process, to withdraw the attention from the general nature and character of the object to which it is applied, to the individual parts of which that object is composed. During this process, the relation of each part or sub-division to the whole, is lost sight of; and the observation is fixed on the separate character of the component parts. This defect, which is sensibly felt in our researches into the nature of the material world, is also incident to our inquiries into the nature of the

human mind, and produces still greater embarrassment. Almost every philosopher, who has attempted to analyze the operations of the mind, has felt and expressed the difficulty of examining separately the nature of faculties which are never separately exercised, but always in combination with some other faculty, or controlled by some emotion equally unknown in a state of separate existence. In treating of the phenomena of mind, and in endeavouring to divide the faculties or powers which produce them, so as separately to consider the nature of each, there is an additional difficulty occasioned by the uncertainty and ambiguity of language. Of this, Doctor Brown himself seems very justly sensible.—“A difference of words,” he says, “is in this case more than a mere verbal difference. Though it be not the expression of a different doctrine it very speedily becomes so.”—It is a pity, that, with so true a notion of the danger which attends a want of correctness and precision in language, he should have gone so far wrong in that very way, as we shall soon have occasion to observe. We know not what to think of a philosopher who runs directly into an error of which he seems to have been so perfectly aware.

He states his objections to the established classification of the mental faculties in the following passages :—

“ \* The great leading division of the mental phenomena, which has met with the most general adoption by philosophers, is, into those which belong to the *understanding*, and those which belong to the *will* :—a division which is *very ancient*, but, though sanctioned by the approbation of many ages, *very illogical*; since the *will*, which, in this division, is nominally opposed to the intellect, is so far from being opposed to it in reality, that, even by the assertors of its diversity it is considered as exercising, in the intellectual department, an empire almost as wide as in the department allotted to itself.

“ Another division of the mental phenomena similar to the former, and of equal antiquity, since it corresponds with the very ancient division of philosophy into the *contemplative* and the *active*, is, into those which belong to the *intellectual powers*, and those which belong to the *active powers*.—‘*Philosophia et contemplativa est et activa : spectat simulque agit.*’ I must confess, however, that this division of the mental phenomena, as referable to the *intellectual* and the *active* powers of the mind, though it has the sanction of very eminent names, appears to me to be faulty exactly in the same manner as the former; which, indeed, it may be considered almost as *representing* under a *change of name*. Its parts are not *opposed* to each other, and it does not include *all* the phenomena which it *should* include. Is *mere grief*, for example, or *mere astonishment*, to be referred to our intellectual,

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\* The words printed in *italics* in this and the other extracts are so printed in the original work.

or to our active powers? I do not speak of the faculties which they may or may not call into action, but of the feelings themselves, as present phenomena or states of the mind."

The objection which is here made to the first of the divisions is not new. Who ever supposed that the powers of the understanding were actually opposed to those of the will? or that the powers of either class could be exercised separately? Or who is there that expects to discover any division of the intellectual faculties in which there shall be a real opposition, or a definite separation in nature?

All that can be said for either of the divisions which the author of these lectures wishes to abolish, is, that it facilitates our inquiries into the constitution of the human mind. We shall soon see whether so much can be said in favour of the new division which he would substitute in their stead.

Yet, after all, to make out his objection to the old divisions he has absolutely mis-stated them. He has called them divisions of the "mental phenomena," which is more than they ever pretended to be. They have, indeed, been taken as divisions of the mental *faculties*, which we apprehend means much less than the mental phenomena.—"The division of the faculties of the human mind into understanding and will is very ancient, and has been generally adopted; the former comprehending all our speculative, the latter all our active powers."—These are the terms in which Doctor Reid has mentioned this division, and we know no other philosophical writer, except Doctor Brown himself, who has called it a division of the *phenomena* of mind, and he has so described it only for the purpose of impugning its accuracy.

He mentions some phenomena, which, he says, are not reducible to either of the divisions, and asks to which of them we can refer joy, grief, and astonishment. These may certainly be called phenomena of the mind, but they have scarcely ever been called faculties. It is, therefore, no objection to a classification of the faculties of the mind, that it does not include those which are not properly faculties. They have been commonly called emotions, and are admitted to have an influence on the faculties, at the same time that they are controlled by them, and are more closely connected with the material or bodily part of our nature. They have therefore generally been treated of under the class of the active powers, not as being included under that description, but on account of their relation to those powers to which it properly extends.

The effect of the emotions and passions on the intellectual faculties seems to us a subject for one of the most interesting inquiries in the philosophy of the human mind. It has never

yet been sufficiently prosecuted by any of the great philosophical writers. But we feel persuaded, that, conducted on true principles, it would very much extend the knowledge of our intellectual nature, opening to us, as it does, not only the constitution of our faculties from the influence which may be exercised upon them; but, above all, tending to results of great practical utility in the government of those faculties, and thus involving considerations which very closely affect the happiness of mankind. If Doctor Brown had entered on this inquiry, and taught some classification or division, by which the emotions and passions might have been considered with relation to the faculties of the mind, or even by which the nature of their emotions might have been more clearly developed than under the old arrangement, he would have essentially advanced our knowledge. But if, instead of proceeding by any such method, or coming to any such result, we find that he has rejected the old classification only to make way for one more fanciful, which is founded on a view of our intellectual nature altogether erroneous, we must consider him as attempting to introduce an innovation worse than useless.

After all, then, we come now to his own new division. The notion of faculties he lays aside; his own phrase *phenomena* he abandons; and he considers the human mind under the two heads or divisions which he calls its *external* and *internal* affections. The external affections he considers so simple as to require no sub-division; but the internal class he sub-divides as follows:—

“The first great sub-division, then, which I would form of the *internal class*, is, into our *intellectual states of mind*, and our *emotions*. The latter of these classes comprehends all, or nearly all, the mental states, which have been classed by others under the head of active powers. I prefer, however, the term *emotions*, partly because I wish to avoid the phrase *active powers*, which, I own, appears to me awkward and ambiguous, as opposed to other *powers*, which are not said to be passive; and partly, for reasons before mentioned, because our *intellectual states* or *energies*, far from being opposed to our active powers, are, as we have seen, essential elements of their activity; so essential, that, without them, *these* could never have had the name of *active*; and because I wish to comprehend, under the term, various states of the mind, which cannot with propriety, in any case, be termed *active*, such as *grief*, *joy*, *astonishment*, and others which have been commonly, though, I think, inaccurately ascribed to the intellectual faculties, such as the feelings of *beauty* and *sublimity*,—feelings which are certainly much more analogous to our other emotions, to our feelings of love or awe, for example, than to our mere remembrances or reasonings, or to any other states of mind which can be called intellectual.” (Vol. i. pp. 371, 372.)

To make this passage intelligible we must recollect that it is the main principle of Doctor Brown's system to consider the mind, not as a combination of various faculties, but as existing in various successive states. "All the feelings and thoughts of the mind," he says, "are only the mind itself, existing in certain states." So that he will have us consider as mere states of the mind, what others have called its faculties or powers.

It appears then, that, in effect, this new division (which he has so confusedly described) consists principally in substituting the term *intellectual states* for *intellectual faculties*, and emotions for active powers. His objection to the term active powers, is, that it does not include the emotions. So far he is correct. Even those who have adhered to the old division admit this objection; but none of them thought of this ingenious mode of mending the defect, by trying to force the active powers into the class of emotions, because the emotions refused to be contained within the class of active powers.

This would be no worse than merely ridiculous, if it did not proceed on a very important mistake as to the nature of intellect, and thereby lead to doctrines quite inconsistent with those established principles, which, till they are satisfactorily refuted, we shall consider as perfectly true. To refute them is, we think, impossible. It may seem, at first sight, of very little moment whether we talk of the states of our mind, or the faculties of our mind. Doctor Brown says, that he dislikes the term active powers, because it is opposed to powers which are not said to be passive. Now the truth is, that these powers have been called active, only because they controul and modify the intellectual, or contemplative powers. Surely for the mere purpose of division this is enough; and the word active is sufficiently opposed to the word contemplative, as applied to the faculties of the mind. But it is easy to discover the real cause of his dislike to this phrase, *active powers*. The truth is, that his system excludes all notion of activity and power, as attributes of the human mind, and therefore it is that he has rejected a classification which considers it as endowed with them.

It seemed to us somewhat strange that these lectures should at once have entered upon a discussion of our notions of power, cause, and effect, before any thing was said of the intellectual faculties. The cause of this arrangement appears now very plainly. Before Doctor Brown could establish his favourite doctrine of considering the human mind, as existing in various states, instead of being endowed with various faculties, he found that it would be necessary for him to overthrow all our notions of power, and the established doctrines of causation.

Mr. Hume expressed his opinion, that "we never have any



idea of power; that we deceive ourselves when we imagine we are possessed of any idea of this kind." This strange doctrine, so repugnant to the common sense of mankind; has, with very little qualification, been revived by Doctor Brown. By power, according to him, is meant no more, than "invariable antecedence," or, (as he says himself), "in other words, it is that which *cannot exist*, in certain circumstances, without being immediately followed by a certain definite event, which we denominate an *effect*, in reference to the antecedent, which we denominate a *cause*." The same doctrine, notwithstanding the satisfactory contradiction which it had received before his time, was repeated by Doctor Priestley; but we do not so much wonder at that: it was to him a captivating paradox. It is a doctrine which takes from power all its activity, and from cause all notion of efficiency, reducing both to mere antecedence.

If it be true, according to Doctor Brown's statement of the proposition, that power cannot exist without being immediately followed by a certain definite event, then, of course, it can only exist when it is exercised. And this is the whole scope of Mr. Hume's reasoning,—that we have no notion of power as an inherent quality. The examination of this proposition involves something more important than a dispute about words. A great deal of ambiguity often attends the use of the words power, cause, and effect; but, in this question, which concerns the very existence of that which is expressed by the word *power*, the dispute is not about the word; but the attribute which it is used to express. The proposition that power only exists when it is exercised, if it be correct, reduces us to the opinion of Mr. Hume, that power itself is a thing of which we have no idea at all. This consequence is inevitable. But the very conception of power involves this consideration in the words of Doctor Reid—that "we cannot conclude the want of power from its not being exerted; nor from the exertion of a less degree of power can we conclude that there is no greater degree in the subject. Thus, though a man on a particular occasion said nothing, we cannot conclude from that circumstance that he had not the power of speech; nor from a man's carrying ten pound weight can we conclude that he had not power to carry twenty."

Indeed, the very dispute about power, proves that it is a thing of which we have some idea or conception, because, as has been truly observed, though men may dispute about things which have no existence, they cannot dispute about things of which they have no conception. Doctor Brown quite forgot this when he fell into the mistake of asserting, that antecedence and constant conjunction were all that we understood of power

and causation. Even so far back as the time of Cicero, the thing was much better understood than to allow the notion of a cause as separated from efficiency; for that philosopher himself has said "*Itaque non sic causa intelligi debet, ut quod cuique antecedit id et causa sit, sed quod cuique EFFICIENTER antecedit.*"

It is melancholy to find at this time of day, after all that has been so satisfactorily established on these subjects, but especially after that irresistible conviction which is inherent in the mind of every man of common understanding, that these heterodoxical notions should be revived, and insisted on with as much earnestness as if they had not been long since refuted, and discarded (as we had hoped) even from the closets of the most speculative philosophers. It is disheartening to find a system of metaphysics, founded upon them, set forth to supersede established principles.

At the same time, it is curious to observe the results to which these doctrines have been pushed by the author of the lectures. In order to make way for his classification of the phenomena of mind into successive states of existence, he has not only to get rid of the true notions of power, cause, and effect, but entirely to strike away consciousness as an operation of the understanding. He thinks he has discovered that this power of perceiving the actions and operations of our own minds, is not even a separate state of the mind, but is incident to what he calls all its successive states. To impute such a separate power or state is, he says, "an attempt to double, as it were, our various feelings, by making them not to constitute our consciousness, but to be the objects of it, as of a distinct intellectual power."

According to this notion, to be conscious of a feeling means only to feel in a particular manner. Indeed Doctor Brown has defined consciousness in these very words, and they of course imply, that the mind distinguishes this particular manner of the feeling from other manners, which, of necessity, includes something more than the mere feeling; so that on Doctor Brown's own showing, we have a knowledge of the states of our minds, which is all that was ever meant or expressed by consciousness, though he would persuade us that there is no such thing. His argument against it comes to this, that knowledge, and the thing known, are the same; and that to represent the latter as the object of the former, is to separate or double up things so absolutely blended together as to be undistinguishable from each other. A proposition so contradictory to actual experience needs no farther refutation than that which he has unwarily given by his own mode of explaining it.

This extravagant attempt to get rid of consciousness as a faculty, is forced upon him to enable him to maintain his doc-

trine, that there are no operations of the mind but a mere succession of states of intellectual existence. For, in the moment that consciousness is admitted as a faculty of the mind, there is an end to that course of reasoning which denies the existence of power as an inherent quality. Consciousness, or the knowledge which we have of the operations of our minds, is that faculty which imparts to us, most undeniably, the notion of energy and power. With this the whole system of a sequence of changes is utterly incompatible, because that system proceeds on the doctrine that power is mere conjunction and antecedence. This, therefore, is the reason why the author of the lectures has proceeded in this order in the promulgation of his new doctrines: He first argues that there is no such thing as consciousness; and, if that proposition is established, it leaves the human mind stripped of the power of observing its own operations. When it has deprived us of this power, it is but going on easily in the same course to destroy all notion of power, as an attribute of matter or of mind. If all this is to be taken as proved, it would then be idle indeed to talk of powers or faculties as existing in the mind, because their existence implies the notions of inherent energy and activity— notions which the other propositions would absolutely destroy and extinguish, leaving the mind of rational man such as it is described in these volumes—a mere sequence of changes or states, without activity, without internal energy, and therefore incapable of voluntary operation.

It is for this, then, that we are called upon to reject the old classifications of the intellectual faculties, and on these principles, as to the constitution of our minds, we are to adopt the new division of the intellectual phenomena into external and internal, with the subdivision of states and emotions. We now see very plainly why the old division into powers of the understanding, and of the will, is to be rejected. There are no powers, it would seem, but mere states; and though we might be allowed to talk of states of the understanding, yet states of the will could never be admitted to the new classification, because we shall find that it excludes all notion of will as entirely as it does our conception of power. This brings us to the consideration of another consequence which must follow from the doctrines inculcated in these lectures.

If there be any of the intellectual faculties which we can exercise at will, surely memory and conception must be of that number. Who is there that doubts that man has the power of calling the faculty of memory into operation at will? No one, we imagine, would dispute so plain a proposition, if it were advanced without reference to any pre-conceived theory. This

voluntary operation of memory our language has expressed by the term *recollection*, or reminiscence, as implying a modification of the more comprehensive and general faculty of memory; and this distinction between the general faculty and the voluntary act of the mind in remembering, is as old as the days of Aristotle; but neither its antiquity, nor (what is of more importance) its truth, seems to have had any weight with Doctor Brown. All notion of voluntary operation is excluded from his view of memory, as well as of the other faculties. "There is," he says, "a species of memory which is said to be under our controul; that memory, combined with desire of remembering something forgotten, to which we commonly give the name of *recollection*. We will the existence of certain ideas, it is said, and they arise in consequence of our volition, though, assuredly, to will any idea is to know what we will, and, therefore, to be conscious of that very idea, which we surely need not desire to know, when we already know it so well as to will its actual existence." It seems absolutely marvellous how any man, accustomed to observe the operations of his own mind, could maintain this doctrine. No doubt, when a man wills, or wishes to remember a thing, he must remember something concerning it which gives him some notion as to the nature of the thing which he wishes to recollect; he must remember something relating to it, which gives him a relative conception of it, though he has no direct conception what the thing itself is. To take a common instance, often referred to,—he may remember that a friend charged him with a commission, to be executed at some particular place, but he has forgotten what the commission was. By applying his thought to what he remembers concerning it, that it was given by such a person, upon such an occasion, in consequence of such a conversation, he is led to the very thing which he had forgotten, and, by this voluntary operation, he remembers distinctly what he wished to call to his mind.

The author of the lectures says, that the direct or indirect volition of ideas is an absurdity. This is very gallantly said, and those who confide in the other doctrines of the author need have no fear in adopting it, though they may observe the practical refutation of it (and of his other heresies) in the daily operations of their own minds. He would also say, that the relative circumstances which induce distinct recollection, in the instance which we have just mentioned, arise of *themselves* to the mind, "according to the simple course of suggestion." These opinions all rest upon the same doctrine,—that we have not within ourselves that controul over the operations of our own minds, which can enable us to pursue, or to prevent what he calls the train or course of suggestion. Let any one who

knows any thing of the operations of his own mind, say whether this be not entirely erroneous. To admit such a proposition, is to deny the ordinary operation of the mind in the exercise of memory. So completely true is the doctrine of voluntary operation, that Doctor Brown himself virtually admits it, and contradicts his own previous doctrine in attempting to recouple it with the exercise of recollection. He says, "the true and simple theory of the recollection is to be found in the *permanence of the desire*, and the natural and spontaneous course of the suggestion." Permanence of the desire! And this is his own true and simple explanation, after assuring us that the volition of ideas is an absurdity, and inculcating the doctrine that the will of rational man has no effect on the operations of his mind; that ideas arise of themselves, after denying, and even treating with ridicule the doctrine, that any modification of the faculty of memory is within our own controul. Surely he cannot have meant to make a distinction between will and desire, as he himself has used these terms. If the word *desire* has any meaning at all, it implies volition; and if he thus admits that permanent desire produces an idea, what becomes of the absurdity which he has imputed to the opinion, that there can be a direct, or indirect volition of ideas? It is a complete contradiction, and into it every one may be sure of falling who attempts to maintain the doctrine, that we cannot controul, or in any degree subject to our will the operations of our minds. There was no reason for introducing the word *desire* instead of *will*, which was the term he previously used. To change the word in this way, only tends, so far, to create confusion. Mr. Locke made a distinction between these words, which may be very properly adhered to; and with that distinction the interchange of the terms in these lectures is inconsistent, without, in any degree, removing the contradiction in which the author became involved; because, even according to Locke's distinction, volition is implied by both the terms. Doctor Brown's confusion of the terms, reminds us of his own warning of the danger which this error always occasions. He has himself exemplified his assertion, that in philosophical discussions, the confusion of terms, and disregard of the established sense in which words are taken, when, in fact, there is nothing objectionable in the general usage, is contemptibly useless. It is an error that inevitably goes beyond the mere words; it will infect all the speculations of the writer who gives way to it, making his objections futile, and his own doctrines obscure and unintelligible. It has happened thus in these lectures. The author, endeavouring to establish a theory concerning the operations of intellect, with which the influence of will is utterly inconsistent, is obliged, in

and teaching the least considerate how insecure for all men are the softest and most valued circumstances, and that he only who can always be faithful to himself, has ought lasting to rely on. That which darkens and scares us more than all this, is the perpetual sense of the writer's wasting toil of heart, of the immeasurable weight of pain and grief which he has not ceased to bear,—the stern resolve compressing the mad furies of the soul, but unable to cast them out. What a spectacle is it to see such a man as this, so rich in endowment, so decisive and victorious in performance, who yet finds the world and the world's law, and the law of his own nature, so ill a friend to him, that he *more sympathises with almost the worst rebellion against all law, than with almost the best submission to it*; that he thinks a Roland, a Verginaud, only ridiculous; a Turgot coldly respectable; while a greedy ruffian, Danton, a mass of brutal self-will and relentless appetite, kindles his admiration, and almost his love!—Vol. ii. pp. 366—373.

We must confess that we are little disposed to do homage to the philosophy which ends in fault-finding. That is one of the sorriest of trades; no man needs serve an apprenticeship of any sort to follow it. But when our modern prophet goes beyond this, and becomes enamoured even with bad men, purely because doing the work of destruction, and becomes fertile in excuses for crime, purely because perpetrated to that end, we then have something more than defect of which to complain. The wisdom which before was merely one-eyed, now becomes evil-eyed—savouring more of Pandemonium than of Paradise. We, too, say, down with the bad—down with it everywhere; if you are only prepared to show that the vacuum thus created is likely to be filled with something better, and not with something worse. There may be worse things than the supremacy of law. Bad laws may be better than none. Young anarchy may be less endurable than old oppression. Strange that men should become old, and famous as philosophers too, and need to be reminded of such truths.

The 'Tales and Apologues' in these volumes appeared in the 'Athenæum' of 1828 and 1829, or in 'Blackwood's Magazine,' subsequently to 1837. These are all distinguished by the taste and intelligence indicated in the extracts we have given from the author. But our limits require that we should now proceed, according to our promise, to mark the change in respect to religious opinion which came over the mind of Sterling in his later years.

We have said that the history of his mind in this view may be taken as a type of the change which has been taking place in the educated mind of this country to a very large extent during the same interval. We have observed the religious feeling with which he committed himself to his duties as a clergyman. His attention to his parish duties at Herstmonceux was marked by

his characteristic energy. His aim was manifestly to awaken the minds of the people, to call forth their sense of moral responsibility, to make them feel their own sinfulness, their need of redemption, and then to lead them to a recognition of the Divine love by which that redemption is offered to us. In visiting them, we are told, he was diligent in all weathers, to the risk of his own health, which was greatly impaired thereby; and his gentleness and considerate care for the comforts of the sick won their affection, so that, though his stay was very short, his name is still, after a dozen years, cherished by many. It was his manner to note down the thoughts and feelings which interested him. Piles of these memoranda were destroyed during his last illness, but the following, through a happy accident, has been preserved. No candid nonconformist will read such a record without regarding the writer with sincere sympathy and respect:—

‘The only way for a clergyman, the best way for all, to regard the parish they live in, is as a church, in the primitive sense of the word; that is, a community of people called by God’s grace from the world, that is, from following their own desires, their own theories, their own interests, to the acknowledgment of the spiritual end of man’s existence, made known to us, and attainable by us, through Christ Jesus,—this end being a moral union with God. This view ought to determine all our outward duties; and if it were allowed to do so, which could only be by our having inwardly the mind of Christ, it would perpetually serve in return to awaken us to more lively personal communion with Him, and imitation of Him. The only adequate examples I know of, how the Spirit of God, if not resisted and grieved by us, would lead us to regard our relations towards our fellow members in our particular church, are those of the great apostles Paul, Peter, and John. I consider it no small calamity, that men are commonly so persuaded of the total difference in kind between the work of God’s Spirit in the hearts of these men, and in those of all other Christians, that laymen have altogether, and clergymen almost, ceased to regard them as models for us, except in their abstinence from acts of sin. A little knowledge and reflection will prove the erroneousness of this view: and every mind which feels any earnest sympathy with them, has a witness in itself that it is called to a like kind, however inferior in extent of action. Now let us bear this in mind, and consider how one of them, says St. Paul, would be likely to act, if placed in another age than his own, and confined to one small division of country—in short, if he were in the situation of a modern parish priest. Is it not plain that he would substitute, for his former wide excursions, the greatest possible intensity of influence in detail? It would be no longer from Jerusalem to Damascus, to Arabia, to Derbe, Lystra, Ephesus, Philippi, Athens, Corinth, Rome, that he would travel: but each house would be to him what each of those great cities was,—a place where he would bend his whole being, and spend his heart, for

denying the influence of will, to admit that of permanent desire. Having substituted the word *desire* for *will*, and qualified its meaning by calling it a "vague and indistinct desire," he would have us believe that he has refuted the doctrine which considers any of the operations of the mind as controled or influenced by the will.

There remains only one other novelty, as resulting from the general theory of mind, advanced in these lectures, on which we think it necessary to bestow our attention. Having got rid of the old doctrines of power, causation, and volition; having banished consciousness, and reduced the faculties of the mind to mere states, and the whole phenomena of mind to a sequence of involuntary changes in those states, he proceeds to deal on the same principles with the other faculties. The doctrine of the association of ideas, or the train of thought in the mind, cannot (as will at once be observed) but have a great deal to do with this system. Accordingly, he expatiates very much on this subject. He expresses a dislike to the term "association of ideas," and substitutes "suggestion" in its stead, without assigning any adequate reason for the change. This principle of suggestion he divides into two kinds; the one, simple suggestion, which implies mere conception, without any notion of relation; the other, relative suggestion, in which (as the term implies) relation is included. In treating of this double principle of suggestion, he explains no more than the laws which Mr. Hume had developed as governing the association of ideas. But it will easily be understood, that, in this principle of suggestion, considering the opinions entertained by Doctor Brown, as to the nature of our intellectual operations, there may be found a very convenient receptacle in which to dispose of the various faculties, as developed by philosophers who have examined the mind, on principles very different from those on which this new system of philosophy proceeds.

Accordingly, we find a lecture with this title,—*"The Reduction of certain supposed Faculties to simple Suggestion."* And there, the faculties of conception, memory, and imagination, are all reduced to this mere simple principle. This is, indeed, something new; and, if we are not mistaken, the novelty consists in confusing what others had accurately distinguished.

To try it by this test, let us again consider the faculty of memory, and see what the process is by which Doctor Brown has said that he reduced it to mere simple suggestion, and what that faculty, or supposed faculty, becomes after it has undergone this process. Memory then, he tells us, is "nothing more than conception, united with the notion of a certain relation of



time."—Afterwards he tells us, "all that is necessary to reduce a remembrance to a mere conception, is to separate from it a part of the complexity,—that part of it which constitutes a certain relation of antecedence." He says, that "the feeling of this relation does not imply any peculiar power generically distinct from that which perceives other relations," &c. And then comes the conclusion, that "memory, *therefore*, is not a distinct intellectual faculty, but is merely a conception or suggestion combined," &c. (going on as before).—To any man who will consider what passes in his own mind, it must be plain that this is a very imperfect account of memory, which is, unquestionably, much more than the mere relation of antecedence, added to conception. To how many of our conceptions may this relation of antecedence be added, without any such operation of the mind as that which produces memory? For instance, our conception of William the Conqueror,—a conception which, of course, includes the relation of antecedence, and therefore answers Doctor Brown's description of memory. Thus, if the doctrine of that gentleman be correct, any man who has a conception of William the Conqueror may be said to remember that ancient monarch.

To pass over the imperfection, or rather the absurdity of this account of memory, let us consider whether, even in this extravagant attempt to confound it with conception, Doctor Brown has not himself actually distinguished it from that faculty. He says, memory is "conception, combined with the relation of antecedence." This combination, then, *must* make it essentially different; and if it be thus different on his own showing, why will he persist that it is the same?

It is thus, then, that he has dealt with memory in his confusion of the faculties; and we think, after this specimen, we shall be readily excused for declining to enter upon any account of what he says of conception, imagination, and the other powers of the mind, in his attempt to reduce them all to what he calls the principle of simple suggestion. He uses suggestion and conception very often as convertible terms; and, as we have seen, makes memory to be the same with conception or suggestion. Imagination he disposes of in the same way—saying, that "it (imagination) does not imply any new or peculiar faculty distinguishable from suggestion." We can hardly imagine any metaphysical paradox too extravagant for the gentleman who could gravely maintain this. It would of course follow, that, as memory and imagination are each of them identified with suggestion, they must be identified with each other: and if the intellects of rational men were really, as Doctor

Brown supposed, reduced to this comfortable state, we might either be said to imagine a thing which we clearly remember, or to remember that which we only imagine.

Let it not be supposed that this is pushing to absurdity a doctrine which the author never intended to carry so far; or that anything has been exaggerated or withheld for the purpose of making it ridiculous. We have stated the propositions in the very words of the ingenious author; nor have we drawn from them any consequences which are not involved or (more frequently) stated in those propositions themselves, and in the reasoning on which he supports them.

We think it needless to proceed farther in the examination of this peculiar intellectual system, because the other new doctrines which it contains are no more than the consequences of those which we have already noticed. In the lectures which treat of the emotions, there is little to attract our attention; and in those which follow, on the General Principles of Morals, we recollect nothing to call for any particular observations. Something of the same ambitious spirit of innovation runs through every part of the work. He endeavours to prove that the feeling of moral approbation is a distinct emotion, "or vivid sentiment;" and, in his ethical speculations, he reviews, very ably, the various systems of morality.

It is certainly no part of the general character of these lectures, that they are wanting in candour, or in respect to the authority of venerable names. They even abound with many amiable professions of candour and liberality towards the advocates of doctrines which the author endeavours to refute. It has, therefore, surprised us to find that almost the only instances in which he has deviated from this general practice, has been in some of his observations on the doctrines of Locke and Reid. He uses the names of these philosophers more lightly than has been done by those who have been more vehement and indiscriminate in controverting their opinions. One of Doctor Brown's lectures is devoted to an examination of "Doctor Reid's *supposed* confutation of the ideal system." The reasons on which he founds his opinion that the ideal system was not actually confuted by Doctor Reid are—1st. Because that system was not in fact adopted by Locke, or the other philosophers to whom it has been ascribed; and, 2dly. Because Doctor Reid's notions on the subject were confused, by his not being sufficiently in the habit of considering the human mind as a mere sequence of states and changes, such as it has been described in these lectures.

As to the last of these reasons, we may safely say that there are none of the disciples of Locke or Reid who will not rea-

dily admit that they were totally destitute of the habit of viewing the human mind in any such light. And as to the alleged confusion which the want of that habit may occasion, it is what nobody, less clear-sighted in Doctor Brown's system than himself, can by any means discover. The only material allegation is, that Locke and the others did not, in fact, entertain any such doctrines, as to ideas, as have been imputed to them by Doctor Reid. If this be really true, then, surely, their reputation has very unjustly suffered, and Doctor Reid has had the merit of that which he did not deserve. But the fact is quite otherwise; and this is so notorious, that we cannot but wonder that Doctor Brown should have endeavoured to disprove it. He does so by quoting various passages from Mr. Locke's Essay, and others, in which the same doctrines, as to perception, are stated as those which were entertained by Doctor Reid himself, and in which the word *idea* is used, as signifying nothing distinct from the external object. This only proves that their errors were such, that they could not be maintained throughout the whole of their works, but, that upon occasions, the truth must inevitably break in. And the same thing may be observed in the most erroneous philosophical speculations; the same thing may be observed in the very work of Doctor Brown, which is now before us. This only shows it to be impossible that error can always be consistent.

But to say that Mr. Locke did not talk of ideas, as real images in the mind, or traces in the brain, as something separate and distinct from the external object,—to say that he did not confound sensation and perception in the most important passages of his book,—to say that Bishop Berkeley and Mr. Hume did not argue upon those errors to disprove the existence of a material world,—is to say what is expressly contrary to fact, and what a simple reference to their writings must immediately contradict.\* Doctor Brown does not venture to say so much,

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\* No one who is at all conversant with metaphysics can be insensible to the obligations which are due to Mr. Locke and Dr. Reid. They are the two master spirits of that branch of philosophy. But a most absurd blunder has been committed by a writer in the last number of the Quarterly Review, who, upon so extensive an acquaintance with the works of Dr. Reid as a perusal of his *Inquiry into the Human Mind*, has taken upon himself to decry the whole system of Dr. Reid's philosophy, as being opposed to that of Mr. Locke! His knowledge of Des Cartes, Malebranche, and the others, is equally correct. Notwithstanding the present distaste for metaphysics, we were not prepared for such surpassing ignorance as this. It is scarcely credible that any man should venture to write on such a subject, without being acquainted with the great works of Dr. Reid—his *Essays on the Intellectual and Active Powers of the Human Mind*. We have little doubt that this notable writer is the same person who, in the same Review, some years ago, boldly affirmed that Dr. Reid had conceded too much to Bishop Berkeley and Mr. Hume, and that the ideal theory might be refuted without having recourse to that

but merely quotes insulated passages, such as we have mentioned. If then, in fact, these errors were committed by these writers, they were justly imputed to them by Doctor Reid: and if the imputation was just, and these doctrines were really maintained, the author of the lecture "on the *supposed* confutation," does not venture to contend that the confutation itself is not satisfactory and complete.

This instance of unfairness towards an eminent philosopher, perfectly unintentional and undesigned, as we believe it to be, is one among the many instances of the perplexities and confusion which are always incident to metaphysical disquisitions. The utmost candour is no security against injustice to an antagonist, nor the utmost caution against mistakes in our own reasoning. Of the truth of this we had another lively instance in the errors and confusion, as to language, which we discovered in examining these lectures, even after the strong expressions which the author himself had repeatedly used, as to the dangerous consequences of such mistakes. The view of these errors, and the difficulty, amounting almost to impossibility, of avoiding them, seems enough to terrify us from entering upon such discussions. There is a passage in Mr. Hume's *Treatise on Human Nature*, in which he has expressed himself so beautifully on this subject that we cannot refrain from quoting it. There is something in it which amounts so much to a confession of the fallacy of his own system, that we are at a loss whether most to admire its eloquence, or the affecting picture which it gives of the state of mind which the sceptical philosophy always tends to produce.

"Methinks I am like a man who having struck on many shoals, and having narrowly escaped shipwreck in passing a small firth, has yet the temerity to put out to sea in the same leaky weather-beaten vessel, and even carries his ambition so far as to think of compassing the globe under these disadvantageous circumstances. My memory of past errors makes me diffident for the future. The wretched condition, weakness, and disorder of the faculties which I must employ in my inquiries, increase my apprehensions; and the impossibility of amending or correcting those faculties, reduces me almost to despair, and makes me resolve to perish on the barren rock on which I am at present, rather than venture myself upon that boundless ocean which runs out into immensity.

"This sudden view of my danger strikes me with melancholy; and, as 'tis usual for that passion above all others to indulge itself, I cannot

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original principle in the mind which impresses us with an irresistible belief in axioms and necessary truths. With this extent of learning, and this power of understanding, this gentleman comes forth as an antagonist to Mr. Dugald Stewart! By the time that he has overthrown the philosophy of Locke and Reid, and that Sir Richard Phillips has extinguished the Newtonian System, philosophy will be in a flourishing state.

forbear feeding my despair with all those desponding reflections which the present subject furnishes me with in such abundance. I am first affrighted and confounded with that forlorn solitude in which I am placed by my philosophy, and fancy myself some strange uncouth monster, who, not being able to unite and mingle in society, has been expelled all human commerce, and left utterly abandoned and disconsolate. Fain would I run into the crowd for shelter and warmth, but cannot prevail with myself to mix with such deformity. I call upon others to join me in order to make a company apart, but no one will hearken to me. Every one keeps at a distance, and dreads the storm that beats upon me from every side. \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* Every step I take is with hesitation; and every new reflection makes me dread an error and inconsistency in my reasoning. \* \* \* Can I be sure that in leaving all established opinions I am following the truth; and by what criterion shall I distinguish her, even if fortune should at last guide me on her footsteps. \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* The intense view of these manifold contradictions and imperfections in human reason has so wrought upon me, and heated my brain, that I am ready to reject all belief and reasoning, and can look upon no opinion even as more probable or likely than another. Where am I, or what? From what causes do I derive my existence, and to what condition shall I return? Whose favour must I court, and whose anger must I dread? What beings surround me? On whom have I any influence, or who have any influence on me? I am confounded with all these questions, and begin to fancy myself in the most deplorable condition imaginable, environed with the deepest darkness, and utterly deprived of the use of every member and faculty."

But scepticism is no part of the system of Doctor Brown, though he has followed many of the errors of the sceptic, and, as it were, grafted them upon a dogmatism of his own. For, laying aside the able and ingenious ethical disquisitions contained in these lectures, when we consider those in which the intellectual system of the author is developed, when we consider that it is the same system which was taught for several years, *ex cathedra*, in the University of Edinburgh, we can have but a poor opinion of the progress of intellectual philosophy among those by whom it is most assiduously cultivated. If Doctor Brown could have succeeded in establishing his doctrines as to power and causation, he would certainly have brought back the science pretty much to the state in which it was left by Mr. Hume before his speculations were confuted. All the benefits derived from the works of Doctor Reid would have gone for nothing, and little would have remained of the labours of Mr. Dugald Stewart but the aggravation of some of his mistakes.

We have now done with this system, which is founded on the principle of confusing all the faculties of the human mind, and

stripping them of the power of voluntary operation. The impression which remains on our minds is not such as would incline us very sharply to blame the prevailing distaste for metaphysical speculations.

When we look around and observe what the questions are which still engage the attention of philosophers, it would seem as if this opinion of the present backward state of knowledge must be confirmed in our minds. Are there not, even among the learned, some who still advocate the ideal system, and follow the scepticism of Hume? When Doctor Reid wrote, he mentioned materialism as an error so thoroughly exploded, that he conceived no future philosopher could attempt to maintain it, and he therefore passed from it, saying, it was a thing "too absurd to admit of reasoning" in the state at which philosophy had arrived in his time. And yet, even in these very days, this exploded doctrine has been revived by men who pass for philosophers; and the best abilities have lately been employed in the refutation of this error, which the refined and subtle speculators of the last century considered so gross, that it shocked their understandings. Thus we see, on all sides, the most opposite errors so perseveringly maintained, and the most established truths so often drawn into question, that we are led almost despairingly to doubt whether philosophy is really much farther advanced than in the barbarous ages. It seems still clouded with uncertainties, and is still agitated by a continuance of the oldest disputes.

A comparison, however, of the state of metaphysics, with the state in which we see the various branches of natural philosophy, of which the progress can with more certainty be known, than in the vast and boundless regions of intellect, serves to correct the despondency which is excited by the view of these continued aberrations. In natural science, as well as in the philosophy of mind, we soon discover that no length of time, during which truths have been established, is a security against the questionings and disputes of obstinate, pugnacious, and presumptuous men. It was but very lately that a book was actually published as a confutation of some of the fundamental principles of the Newtonian philosophy; and other instances of similar extravagancies, even in natural philosophy, will constantly occur. It is not, therefore, to be concluded, from the existence of such controversies, that science is making no progress in the world. For if it be a reproach against any branch of philosophy that its most fundamental truths continue to be questioned, it is a reproach from which none has hitherto escaped: and if it were reasonable to think that every such controversy brings the whole science back to the contro-

verted point, and that it can advance no farther, till every such disputant is silenced, all the vigour of the human understanding would be miserably wasted, and the first step of knowledge would be also its last.

But it is so ordered, that this perverted spirit of disputation has a very different effect. Presumptuous denials of established truths cause the foundations on which these truths rest, to be more broadly and deeply laid. Out of controversies apparently vexatious and perplexing, new lights are thrown upon science. The examination of every error exposes at the same time the causes which have produced it, and therefore teaches how it is to be avoided: by the removal of the apparent obstacles which such obstinate disputes must occasionally raise, the means of further progress are discovered; the way becomes more broad and more safe for the advancement of true philosophy.

#### ART. XV.—GREEK LITERATURE.

1. *Essays on the Institutions, Government, and Manners of the States of Ancient Greece.* By Henry David Hill, D. D., Professor of Greek in the University of St. Andrew's. 12mo. London.
2. *Substance of Lectures on the Ancient Greeks, and on the Revival of Greek learning in Europe.* By the late Andrew Dalzel, A. M., &c., Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh. 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh. 1821.

THE ingenious authors of these treatises have been successively called to a state in which they are alike indifferent to praise or censure. A comparison of their performances has, therefore, become a less invidious task. From respect, however, to those who represent them, and, probably, feel an interest in their memories, we should have been pleased to have been able to assign them an equal rank in the roll of literary fame. But it cannot be. Dr. Hill's book would be unjustly treated were it classed no higher than that of the late Professor Dalzel, to which it is, in every way, a very superior performance.

But while we thus pronounce in favour of Dr. Hill's *Essays*, and declare our disappointment in Professor Dalzel's *Lectures*, considering them wholly unworthy of the high reputation which placed him, during his life, amongst the first scholars of the country,—candour requires us to remark, that much of that disappointment may be owing to exorbitant and

unreasonable expectation. They are distinguished by several circumstances which ought to soften critical animadversion. Lectures upon Greek literature, compiled for a class of youthful auditors, can be expected to be no more than elementary aids;—hints for thinking, and outlines for reading, to be afterwards filled up by diligence, rather than a regular and systematic course of instruction. In addition to these suggestions, it would be unfair were we to overlook the state of classical learning in the northern division of the kingdom, compared with the progress made in those studies at our own Universities. The youth who attend the lectures of a Greek Professor, at a Scottish University, are still “super elementa volitantes.”

“At the period,” says the editor, “during which my father filled the Greek chair in the University of Edinburgh, there was little instruction given to the boys at many of the public schools, but the dry and repulsive communication of the Latin language. This they were forced to learn by means of severe corporal discipline, and hardly any attempt was made to lead the youthful mind to a gradual perception of the beauty of classic diction and sentiment. The boy, when released from the restraint of school, was consequently too often induced to throw aside, in disgust, what was associated in his mind, only with the idea of suffering. At school, there was either no instruction given in the Greek at all, or the rudiments of it only were imperfectly taught: so that the duty of a Greek Professor was one of no small labour; he had to communicate *the language from its very elements*; he had to do away the repugnance acquired at school to classical study, and had to instil into the minds of the youth, the delight, as well as the improvement to be derived from the rational contemplation and study of the ancients.”—(Pref. p. 5.)

In truth this, as an excuse for the trite and superficial character of these lectures, is much more admissible than the fact stated by Mr. Dalzel, that they were never intended for publication;—a worn out apology, and no sufficient plea of exemption from the jurisdiction of the critic. It might, and indeed properly might, have influenced the editor, while his father’s manuscripts were yet slumbering in their dusty repose. But a book, once published, stands for judgment according to its deserts, and he who drew it from the safety of its asylum, ought to have had before his eyes the consequences which he deprecates.

Delere licebit

Quod non edideris; nescit vox missa reverti.

But Mr. Dalzel seems impatient to destroy even this doubtful claim to indulgence: in a few sentences onwards he forgets the modest extenuations which he had urged for the defects of the publication, and proffers it “as not uninformative to those who have passed the period of academical tuition.”



Such, then, being the test by which we are to estimate its value, it would be a false courtesy to suppress the conviction which a deliberate perusal of it has left upon our minds,—that it will be found less instructive than the editor supposes, as well to those who are actually proceeding through their academic discipline, as to those who have already passed it. We anticipate disappointment to the ingenious student, who may be attracted by the splendid promise held out in the distribution of subjects with which the professor commences his lectures;—viz. “The Political Situation of the Greeks, comprehending an Introductory History of Greece, and a retrospective View of Manners, Arts, and Sciences, during its several periods; the Manners, Character, and Religion of the Greeks; their Polite Learning, comprising Investigations on Grammar, Language, and Poetry, and the revival of Greek Learning in Europe.”

We do not, indeed, exact from such a course of lectures, deep or original disquisition, or a series of profound and philosophical thinking. But, from a man of Professor Dalzel’s acquirements, we certainly looked for elegant and striking disquisitions upon known and established positions, correct views of the domestic life, and enlarged and liberal surveys of the political institutions of the wonderful people, whose history and literature he undertook to elucidate. In justification of our strictures, we will select his opening remarks upon Grecian History, and we will ask whether the rawest, and most inexperienced tyro of the second or third form, would not receive so *jejune* a collection of truisms as an affront to his understanding.”

“Ancient Greece, small as it was in extent, rose to a degree of splendour, in point of the improvement of the human mind, to which no other nation ever attained; and gave birth to a greater number of illustrious men than has been produced by any one nation that ever existed. Poets, orators, philosophers, warriors, artists,—in all these Greece stands unrivalled, and reflects the highest glory upon human nature. But such is the nature of human affairs, that no one government, or political society, has been known to subsist constantly, but all have been either destroyed or changed. Greece has undergone the same fate with others: and that once accomplished nation is now no longer what it was in the days of Lycurgus, Themistocles, or Epaminondas.”—(Vol. i. p. 12.)

Was it a maxim, then, of Mr. Dalzel’s theory of institution, that the youthful capacity is incapable of receiving stronger aliment than that which was thus served up to it in such miserable scraps of common place? But the same triteness of remark, and the same absence of thinking characterize the whole of this book. He seems to ~~am~~ <sup>move</sup> timidly along, fearful of losing sight of those indisputable truths, and fixed opinions which have been

repeated, from time immemorial, by the numerous class of preceptors, who, being too indolent to think themselves, have found it convenient to consider themselves as addressing understandings equally indisposed to thinking. Like the man described by Dr. Johnson in his *Idler*, they have thus, on all occasions, come forth as the steady assertors of uncontroverted and incontrovertible truths. Not that this cautious course has always proved a security against mistakes. The Professor has proved the contrary in his summary of Grecian history, in which we find the following remark.

"We may safely say, that the different periods which we have thus sketched out, compose a history which, of all others, exhibits the most finished pictures of human genius, and is, therefore, next to our own history, the most interesting and instructive. Some of the Roman writers have, indeed, insinuated that the Greeks are much indebted for their glory to their own historians, who have transmitted them to posterity, embellishing all their actions with the finest eloquence and strongest panegyric. But this may have been said by the Romans, from a malicious intention of extenuating that lustre which it was not in their power by their own deeds to obscure. And with respect to the reflection cast upon Greece, by Juvenal, *Quicquid Græcia mendax audet in historia*,—this alludes rather to the fabulous times of Greece, and is spoken in the spirit of satire. The veracity of the Greek historians, at least in relating the events that happened during the ages of Grecian liberty and glory, is sufficiently to be depended upon. As to the first age, which we have denominated the rise of the Greeks, and which is generally known by the name of the fabulous and heroic times, this very last-mentioned appellation shows, that historians do not mean to impose upon mankind, as strictly true, the events which they narrate as having then happened.—(Vol. i. p. 18, 19.)

The whole of this passage is as clumsy in diction as it is erroneous in fact and reasoning. A classical tutor, of humbler attainments than those of Mr. Dalzel, ought to have been aware that the *Græcia mendax* of Juvenal does not allude to the fabulous times of Greece, but to known and authenticated periods of her history: for the times of Xerxes and Themistocles are not fabulous; and the satyrist is speaking of the exaggerations with which, in his day, it was supposed that the Grecian narratives of the Persian invasion were blended. We will quote the entire passage:

..... creditur olim,  
Velificatus Athas et quicquid Græcia mendax  
Audet in historia, constratum classibus isdem  
Suppositumque rotis solidum mare.

But in selecting the celebrated canal cut through Mount Athos as an exemplification of the Greek propensity to historical

falsehood, Juvenal was himself in an error. There is scarcely any circumstance in the history of that expedition more satisfactorily proved than the construction of that canal. It is recorded by Herodotus.\* Thucydides speaks of it as a well-known occurrence, and that writer lived a considerable time in Thrace. It is mentioned by Plato,† also by Isocrates‡ and Lysias, as unquestionable, and the latter adds, that it was still, in his time, a matter of common conversation. Diodorus is equally positive in his testimony, and, although that part of Strabo is lost which contained his geographical and historical account of Thrace, the canal is mentioned in the epitome of his work. The place, moreover, was so completely in the heart of the surrounding Greek settlements (there having been at that time no fewer than five Grecian towns on the peninsula itself of Athos, and one even on the isthmus, described by Thucydides to be on the borders of the canal), that it seems absolutely absurd to suppose that such a report, if unfounded, could have acquired credit or circulation. Nor is there the slightest improbability in the circumstance. In later periods, arbitrary sovereigns, having an unlimited command of labour and population, have left behind them much more stupendous monuments of ambition or folly. But, in truth, it was a wise and politic enterprise. “To cross the Ægean even now,” says Mr. Mitford,|| “with all the modern improvements in navigation is singularly dangerous. To double the Cape of Athos is still more formidable. The object, therefore, being to add the countries west of the Ægean Sea to the Persian dominion, it was of no small consequence to lessen the danger and delays of the passage for a fleet.”

These specimens will satisfy the reader as to Professor Dalzel's qualifications for historical criticism. But such is the despatch with which the analysis of Grecian history is executed, that this important and interesting subject, by means of a machinery for the abridgement of labour, almost peculiar to this lecturer, is dismissed in little more than eighteen pages; and of these no slight space is occupied by needless repetitions and sentimental flourishes in so bad a taste as to perplex us in assigning them to an author who, from the daily course of his studies, and the early predilections of his life, ought to have been too much tinctured by the great models about which he was conversant, to be betrayed into puerilities so inconsistent with their style and spirit. To this breathless rapidity, we suppose, must be traced the slight, flimsy, unreflecting view of the first age of Greece, which he denominates the *rise of the Greeks*, and that unsound and

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\* 1. 7. c. 22.

† De legibus, 1. 3.

‡ Panegy. p. 222, t. 1.

|| Hist. of Greece, vol. li. p. 111. 8vo.

unphilosophical confusion of the fabulous and heroic times, which almost amounts to downright ignorance of the subject.

The heroic ages were not fabulous. The student who, in the very vestibule, as it were, of Grecian history, should be induced to dismiss from his mind, as so much fable, those ages which are called heroic, would lose an irretrievable opportunity of contemplating the most interesting pictures of the gradual development of human societies which the history of man can supply; a most rare and invaluable commentary upon the natural powers of his species in their first struggles with the necessities which surrounded them, and by which life is solaced, and society civilized. It is absurd to reject it because it is mixed with fable and poesy. The spirit of philosophical disquisition is never more usefully applied to human learning, than in selecting from the mingled mass of tradition and fiction those important inductions which terminate in a sober and steady degree of qualified belief, sufficient to afford us general and comprehensive views of human history. Could Professor Dalzel have been ignorant how much delineation and portraiture—how large a variety of lines and tints, as it were—how many shades and streaks of the first dawnings of civility and refinement he has expunged from his tablet, by passing over those ages (those for instance, from the arrival of Pelops to the death of Codrus) as the dreams of poesy and fable? Was he not aware that the void is filled up by numerous authors, who dedicated their lives to the antiquities of their nation? Was he unmindful of the striking, but exact testimonies of Homer, the father of poetry, we had nearly said of history; of Hesiod; of the tragic and comic poets; of Strabo and Pausanias; but, above all, of the valuable summary of the early affairs of Greece prefixed to his history by Thucydides?

In truth the absence of this species of disquisition is a defect the more to be regretted, inasmuch as the early Grecian story takes up human society in a stage so perfectly infantine. It is the process from the cradle to the forum. The genius of Tacitus traced the first rudiments of political constitutions and social manners in the forests of Germany; and his portraiture of that rude, but not barbarous state, is probably the most finished sketch that history, or rather philosophy, has preserved to us. But some progress had been made in the necessary arts and institutions of life, before the picture bequeathed by his vigorous pencil opens to our view; whereas in Greece, the inventions and the inventors are alike consecrated by the grateful hand of tradition and history. How rarely is it that the history of nations sets out with the advance of man from a state anterior to agriculture? In Greece the benefactor of his species who first

taught his rude countrymen to exchange the acorn for the nutritious grain,

Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit aristâ

the penetrating and sagacious legislator, who, by instituting the marriage contract, placed under the mild yoke of social manners the most indomitable of the passions; and the enlightened ruler, who imported the knowledge of the East into Bœotia, and taught the mind its sublimest operation, by arresting the evanescent speech, and embodying it in determinate characters,—have, in the persons of Cecrops and Cadmus, fixed those epochs to which the philosopher must refer when he traces the history of man.

Much contradiction and much uncertainty overshadows, it is true, the commencement of Grecian history; but there is abundant matter for a comprehensive and philosophical outline. The origin of that nation was by no means splendid. It was a mere trading establishment, what in modern language is called a factory, formed by the Phenicians, who carried on their commerce by means of similar settlements on the coasts of the Peloponnesus, of Attica, of Bœotia, of Thessaly, and those of Asia-Minor and in the adjacent islands. Far from being powerful, and with a population by no means adequate to the extent of their enterprises, they seem never to have had recourse to arms when they first founded their colonies. This pacific habitude was for a long time the chief element of the early Greek character. It is for this reason that the history of the first five centuries of that nation is a monotonous succession of events barren alike of materials for poesy and history. In truth, the historical matter of this period is supplied chiefly by genealogy. Thus Homer, when he has occasion to speak of Æneas, ascends as far as Dardanus; and when he mentions Glaucus, he traces his family up to Sisyphus;—and it is probable that he would have completed his genealogical tables of the heroes, whom he commemorates in his catalogue of the ships; had they not been already executed by Hesiod. A state of things so tranquil, barren as it is for history, is favourable to the prosperity and increase of mankind. About sixty years before the Trojan war, so great was the population of European Greece, that expeditions were undertaken for the purpose of diminishing its redundancy; and this in all probability led to the Argonautic enterprise—the original purpose of which was a commercial intercourse with the savage tribes that inhabited the shores of the Euxine; an object which was defeated by dissensions and strifes amongst the leaders. This expedition ushers in a brilliant but disastrous epoch—and Greece, exhausted by

perpetual wars, did not recover for many centuries. It must be during this interval, between the return of the Argonauts and the Trojan war, that the war between the Etolians and the inhabitants of Calydon, poetically shadowed in the story of the Wild Boar, which the princes of the country assembled to extirpate, and that of the Lapithæ and the Centaurs, ought to be dated. Nor are the capture and pillage of Iolchos by Peleus and the Dioscouri, the two Theban wars, and the several adventures of Hercules in the Peloponnesus, consistently with any sound rules of chronology, assignable to any other period. It was, in truth, to Hercules that the Greeks were indebted for that confederation and unanimity which enabled them to bring such vast resources to the siege of Troy: for it was that warrior, or adventurer, who united the various population of Greece under the sway of the kings of Argos; and when Agamemnon, who had succeeded to the dominion and states of Eurystheus, determined to carry the war into Asia-Minor, he found no difficulty in persuading the other sovereigns to combine their forces with his, and to concede to him the general command of the army.

It is not improbable that the rape of Helen was merely the avowed pretext of the quarrel. Its principal object seems to have been the establishment of new settlements by the European Greeks, who were now experiencing the ills of an exuberant population in a bounded and by no means fertile territory: an inference furnished us by the poem upon the Trojan war, attributed to Stasinus of Cyprus, and commonly called the Cyprian verses.\* He begins his work by describing a council of the gods, in which the birth of Helen was decreed; an event which would necessarily be the source of a long and bloody strife between Europe and Asia, but which was deemed adviseable in consequence of the complaints and petitions of Terra, who found herself overcharged with inhabitants. Of this expedition the issue is well known. Troy was taken and pillaged, and Greece was exhausted by her efforts to keep an army on foot of 100,000 men. The war was indeed over, but peace was not restored. The Grecians, unable to retain their conquests, returned to their respective countries, from which they were soon afterwards driven, either by more powerful neighbours, or by factions which had grown up during their absence.

To condense what is chiefly requisite to a general and enlightened view of early Greece, from that blended chaos of fable and history, which the learned Professor seems to have considered as involved in cimmerician darkness; by doing which essential and leading facts are presented

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\* Strabo, 16.

in a shape and compass at once perceptible and tangible, divested of the accessory and unsubstantial tracery with which the warm fancy of poets, or the unfaithful hand of mythology, has embellished them, is one of the most useful offices which can be performed by the instructors of youth. Indeed it seems quite inexcusable to have omitted all allusion to the effects produced by the war of Troy upon the growing civilization of Greece, which, in skilful hands, though lightly touched or cursorily examined, would have tended to throw many lights across the darkness in which her annals are involved from the times of Homer to those of Pisistratus. Nor is one word said respecting that which is the lamp of history—chronology. One, or even two lectures might have been dedicated (and, for a similar omission, Dr. Hill also has to answer,) to a subject essentially interwoven with historical studies, and no apology can justify the entire pretermission: for, although some distaste for this forbidding but necessary pursuit is not to be severely visited upon a man of elegant acquirements, who may be pardoned for not having perplexed himself and his class in the labyrinths of the opposite and conflicting systems of Newton and Freret, yet, as history cannot be read without some system of chronology, the merits of their respective calculations might have been summed up in a few pages, and in a way intelligible to less disciplined understandings than those of a Greek class of young men at an University. Had Professor Dalzel felt a becoming solicitude as to this part of his duty, he would probably have hesitated in affixing the period of Homer to 340 years after the destruction of Troy. Dr. Hill's correcter apprehension deduces an inference respecting that period which is probably nearer the truth. "From the constant coincidence," he remarks, "of Homer's view of manners with those which prevailed during the Trojan war; from a passage in the *Iliad*, which insinuates that he lived at the same time with the grand children of Æneas; and, in particular, from his making no allusion to the return of the *Heraclidæ*, which happened eighty years after the taking of Troy, there can be little doubt that he flourished only about sixty years after the events which he describes." (Hill's *Essays*, p. 18, 19.) It is, indeed, a question which has been much agitated by critics and scholars; yet we cannot abstain from selecting a few of the proofs on which Dr. Hill's inference is founded, and into which his plan, by reason of its extent and variety, forbade him to enter.

Were the life of Homer,\* which has been attributed to Herodotus, deserving of credit, there would be an end of the dispute.

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\* Vide Herodotus. Edit. Weaselring, in not. prim.

But, abandoning that ground, and resorting only to the testimony of his general history, we find that, although he fixes no precise era for the Trojan war, he states that the father of poesy lived 400 years before his own age.\* With respect to the time from that war to the age of Homer, there are passages in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* that speak affirmatively upon the subject. In the first book of the latter poem it is remarked, that those are the fittest subjects for poetic commemoration which are recent; but that those of older date are heard inattentively. Now if this aphorism, which is put into the mouth of Telemachus, is to be considered as the sentiment of the poet, it is not likely that, in contradiction of his own theory, he would have selected for celebration those affairs of his country which happened three or four centuries before he wrote. But a passage in the *Iliad*, which has been much wrested from its import in order to show that Homer lived at a period considerably later than the siege of Troy, and on which Thucydides has built the same deduction,—the invocation in the second book of the *Iliad*, which precedes the catalogue of the ships, although it proves that Homer did not live absolutely in those times, proves almost conclusively that he must at least have lived so near them “that it might have been almost doubted,” says Mr. Mitford, † “if his early youth had not been passed in them.” “We have these things,” says the bard, ‡ “only by report, οὐδὲ τι ἰδμεν, and not of our own knowledge.” But, if it had been a notorious fact on the contrary that the events of that war were so remotely anterior to the poet who sung them, why is he solicitous to convey to his auditors so superfluous an intimation? It may be rationally conjectured, also, that, having been born so near the period of those events, if he had not declared the contrary, it might have been imagined that he pretended to be an eyewitness of the war which he describes, and that he was anxious to contradict so natural an inference; for it is not usual to contradict what could not be supposed. The other passage of the *Iliad*, § to which Dr. Hill refers respecting the descendants of Æneas, is a striking confirmation of the theory. It does not appear, however, that the poet, as the St. Andrew’s Professor imagines, was contemporary with the grand-children of Æneas. Literally interpreted, Neptune’s prophecy “that Æneas shall reign over the Trojans, and the sons of his sons, and those who shall be born after them,” interposes another link or two in the chain of descent, and marks the precise number of generations from Æneas to the time of Homer.

\* Herod. i. 2. c. 53.

† Grecian History, Appendix to chapter 3.

‡ *Iliad*, i. 2, v. 486, 487.

§ *Iliad*, i. 20, v. 308.



Nor is this internal evidence all. There is a species of negative demonstration deducible from his works, which speaks still more strongly. Dr. Hill justly adverts to "his making no allusion to the return of the Heraclidæ, which happened eighty years after the taking of Troy;" and we regret that the Doctor did not take more pains to unfold what we have always considered as an unanswerable argument. Had the poet lived after that great revolution, which effected a total change of affairs through the whole Grecian peninsula, it would surely have furnished to his Greek hearers a much more interesting subject of song than the "Tale of Troy divina." At least it is hardly conceivable that he should never have once alluded to so memorable an event, "by which," says Mr. Mitford, "so total an alteration was made of the principal families, and of the whole population of Peloponnesus, and indeed of all the western coast of Asia-Minor, with the adjacent islands." Homer's geography of that country also is so exact, that Strabo follows him from the remotest antiquity; and yet, whilst in his catalogue, he indulges in more than one mournful reflection upon the vicissitudes which had fallen upon the great families of Greece, not a single exclamation escapes him concerning the pathetic fates of the Pelopids and the Neleids. To this conclusive evidence we must add his silence concerning the new forms of political society, which arose at the period vulgarly assigned to his existence, republics, and tyrannies, concerning which this most observant of historians is completely silent. Nor does he once adopt a general name for the Greek nation, or advert to its division into Ionian, Æolian, and Dorian. Of the council of Amphictions he is moreover silent; and, while he seems familiarly acquainted with Sidon, he makes no mention whatever of Tyre.

One of the most interesting anomalies in the history of ancient times is the legislation of Lycurgus; it involves all the most momentous principles of municipal law and domestic polity, but it has been passed over by the Edinburgh Professor with his usual negligence and rapidity. It exhibits a rare phenomenon in the affairs of Greece,—a system of polity which subsisted in its original soundness and integrity for upwards of seven hundred years, and has been deservedly regarded by orators, philosophers, and historians, as among the most striking monuments of human genius. It was, no doubt, to the salutary, though somewhat despotic authority of the Ephori, and to the *ἐνηλασία*, a law which prohibited intercourse with foreigners by rigorously excluding them from Sparta, and interdicting their entrance into its dominions, that she owed the duration and compactness of her polity. Dr. Hill concludes his review of the Lacedæmonian

institutions with the following just and philosophical reflections judiciously borrowed from the French Anacharsis.\*

"The eminence of the Spartans in war bore ample testimony to the efficacy of the means employed for this end by Lycurgus. The Athenians, fond as they were of military fame, always acknowledged the superiority of that people in the field. By the dread of incurring their displeasure, the Lacedæmonians often disarmed the most powerful confederacies; and so much were they accustomed to victories, that they heard of them with indifference, and scarcely deigned to bestow a reward on the messengers by whom the tidings of them were brought.

"Though the ability, with which Lycurgus made all his institutions conspire to accomplish the ends which he had in view, be deserving of admiration, it must be allowed that the principle upon which the whole of his system was founded is completely erroneous. In a rude state of society, man is little superior to the animal creation, and derives very inconsiderable advantage from the powers of reason by which he is distinguished. It is at the period when his understanding is enlightened by science; when he becomes capable of investigating the operations of his own mind, and the nature and qualities of the objects around him; when by his ingenuity and industry he changes the face of nature, and makes every thing contribute to the convenience and comfort of life; it is then surely that he appears in the most favourable colours, and approaches most nearly to the perfection of his nature. The study of science, so severely proscribed by Lycurgus, has no tendency unfavourable to virtue. It moderates the violence of passion; inspires a taste for innocent and elegant enjoyments; and banishes the desire of the vicious indulgences, which, in a rude state of society, form the principal happiness of man. Even improvement in the arts does not necessarily corrupt the heart. In those who profess them they produce habits of industry and economy, and prevent the pernicious effects with which, in uncivilized ages, excessive indolence is almost always attended. If in the higher classes of society they give rise to luxury; yet luxury, that is, a taste for the elegancies of life, is not in itself an evil. By giving employment to numbers, who in a ruder period would have had no means of subsistence, it increases the population of a country; and is vicious in those who indulge in it only when it occupies too much of their time and attention, or interferes with the discharge of the active duties of life. This then was the first defect in the institutions of Lycurgus. The evils which he dreaded from refinement of manners were imaginary; while, to avoid them, he counteracted the progress which society is perpetually making in the improvement of art and of science, and prevented his countrymen from ever attaining to the dignity and perfection of the nature of man.

"But this was not the greatest error in the system of Lycurgus. The

manners of all uncivilized nations are tinged with ferocity. The individuals of whom they are composed, ignorant of the rights of others, and occupied with the supply of their personal wants, think not of the demands which men have on the kindness of each other; while their rude employments, and the many hardships to which they themselves are often exposed, steel their hearts against the feelings of compassion. It is philosophy which points out the relations in which we stand to each other; which shows the advantages at all times attendant on clemency, and which thus softens the tempers, and humanizes the manners of men. The military character of the Spartans, and the wars in which it often involved them, increased the ferocity resulting from their ignorance of art and of science. Accustomed from their youth to scenes of carnage and horror, they became callous to the finer emotions of the heart, and knew not what it was to feel for the distresses of others.

“From nature women possess a higher degree of gentleness, humanity, and benevolence, than men; and in barbarous ages have sometimes contributed to soften the ruggedness of their manners. At Sparta, women could produce no such effect. Educated together with the men, trained to the same exercises and hardships, they seem to have contracted no less ferocity. What shall we think of women who could rejoice at the death of their sons, if, upon inspection, they found their wounds to be honourable, and could even murder with their own hands such of their children as had fled in battle! The barbarity of the manners of the Spartans was such as these circumstances would lead us to expect. To secure to their citizens a vigour of constitution, they were accustomed to kill immediately after their birth the children who had any appearance of weakness or delicacy; and with the intention of inuring the youth to pain, they on certain occasions scourged them with such severity, that some of them have been known to expire. It is in their conduct to the Helots, those slaves whom they employed in the cultivation of the ground, that we behold the most disgusting display of a ferocity of disposition. Not content with having deprived them of liberty, they were wont to treat them with all the wantonness of oppression. They did not allow them to sing the hymns in praise of valour which formed the delight of the citizens. They annually inflicted on them a number of stripes, to remind them of their condition, and break the independence of their spirits; and they sometimes forced them to drink to excess, that they might exhibit to the youth an example of the effects of intemperance. The cruelty of the Spartans was often of a still blacker dye. They privately put to death the Helots, who displayed uncommon strength of body or generosity of mind. To accustom the youth to stratagem, they sometimes placed them in ambuscade, and allowed them to murder the slaves who passed near the place where they lay concealed; and when the number of these unfortunate men threatened the state with danger, they have been known to butcher thousands of them at once.

“It is shocking to dwell on such instances of barbarity; but they

show the imperfection of the institutions of *Lycurgus*, and the importance of the study of literature and science to the moral as well as the intellectual improvement of man." (P. 136—141.)

With respect to the treatment of the Spartan slaves, there is no reason for supposing that it was originally introduced by *Lycurgus*. Slavery existed in every Grecian republic; but the condition of slaves varied in different states. The most remarkable difference was, that, in some, they were purchased barbarians; in others, the descendants of vanquished Greeks. The Lacedæmonian slaves were of the latter description.\* They were originally the inhabitants of *Helos*, an Arcadian dependency of *Sparta*, who, being vanquished after an ineffectual attempt to shake off the Spartan yoke, were, long before the time of *Lycurgus*, reduced to slavery, and dispersed in such numbers over *Laconia*, that the name of *Helot* and slave became synonymous. The institutions of *Lycurgus*, although not to be exculpated (for they neither restrained the cruelty of the masters, nor mitigated the wretchedness of the *Helots*), are, however, not answerable for this disgraceful polity. In fact, his institutions must in some respects have introduced an improvement in their condition: for *Lycurgus* confined to this unhappy race the exclusive exercise of the mechanical and agricultural arts: their consequence in the state was therefore increased, and it was this consequence which afterwards rendered them objects of unceasing vigilance and jealousy to the government of *Sparta*. Hence arose that abominable institution, according to *Plutarch*,† the *Crypteia*. If that intelligent author is to be relied upon, *Dr. Hill* has somewhat inaccurately represented the practice of placing the Spartans in ambuscade, to murder the slaves as they passed, as having been devised "to accustom their youth to stratagem." It appears that those who formed these ambuscades were invested with occasional commissions for reducing the number of the *Helots*, by murdering the stoutest men whom they could select, and those in particular who were distinguished by any superiority of spirit, or of genius. Whilst we peruse these horrible facts, we blush for the honour of our common humanity: but this despised portion of mankind were not unfrequently roused to vindicate their insulted nature; and, in spite of her inhuman and merciless precautions, *Lacedæmon* was oftener in danger of total subversion from the *Helots* than from her foreign enemies.

It is impossible not to be lost in wonder when we contemplate this most paradoxical of all human polities, and that wonder is augmented in a two-fold degree, when we reflect that it arose

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\* *Isocr.* *Panath.*

† *In vita Lycurg.*

out of the genius and foresight of a single man. It is observed by Rousseau, and the observation is just, that had Lycurgus been merely a speculative legislator, his scheme would have been derided as much more visionary than Plato's: but the Spartan had not only the satisfaction of seeing his machine in motion, and all its wheels faithfully answering to their several ends, but the skill and dexterity to ensure its duration, having engaged in its support the Delphic Oracle, that great engine which influenced, through the powerful agency of superstitious reverence, the universal mind of Greece. It is, however, much easier to account for the perpetuation of so anomalous a system than to imagine its original construction. Other constitutions have grown from weak beginnings, and struggled gradually into vigour and greatness; but that of Lycurgus sprung, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter. Other governments have been prudent systems of compromise with the manners and dispositions of mankind: but for Lycurgus nothing was too dangerous to be attempted, nothing too difficult to be executed. He changed every thing, laws, customs, even the virtues and vices of the people, as with the rod of a magician; and yet the most hazardous of his experiments, and the most violent of his changes, never failed in practice. His genius seemed to have foreseen every emergency, and every disorder was counteracted, as it arose, by its appropriate remedy.

So extraordinary an engine, framed to operate in direct opposition to the natural, social, and moral habitudes of human beings, has, by some writers, been at once removed out of the way by the denial of its existence; and this, to be sure, is the most effectual method of ridding ourselves of the difficulty of explaining it. The change, at once, and by a single hand, of the ancient usages and manners of a nation, they affirm to be impracticable. They have endeavoured to solve the problem comfortably with respect to their own minds, but with great violence to historical truth, by contending that the institutions of Lycurgus were the old usages of the heroic ages, or improvements upon the practices of the ancient Dorian inhabitants of the highland parts of Greece: but the concurrent testimony of antiquity refutes the opinion. Xenophon, Thucydides, Isocrates, and Plato, expressly refer every thing to Lycurgus; and from Xenophon especially we learn that the essential difference of this government from the other states of Greece, consisted in its exacting from its citizens the most implicit devotion and obedience. *Λυκῦργον δὲ (εἶπε ὁ Σωκράτης) καταμεμαθήκας, ὅτι πᾶσι ἂν διαφορὰν τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τὴν Σπάρτην, ἐποίησεν, εἰ μὴ το πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις μάλα σφειρασάτο αὐτῇ.* Mem. Socr. l. 4, c. 4, s. 13. So sudden was the change, and so directly counter to the feelings of mankind

were its spirit and character, that he was compelled to begin by making the citizens of this extraordinary commonwealth blindly and implicitly subservient to its institutions. The habits of obedience, of an almost mechanical obedience, being thus formed, he well knew that the rest of this artificial system would operate without hinderance or interruption.

Professor Dalzel is not much happier in his disquisitions concerning Athens. Still fearful of soaring beyond the comprehension of his young hearers, he continues to creep along the trite and vulgar path of pedantic common-place. This indolent acquiescence has consequences beyond those of a mere literary moment. The loss of time in attendance upon a hasty lecturer, is, of course, an evil; but the adoption of practically wrong principles, which are apt to be adhesive in proportion as they are injurious, and to throw a pollution upon the youthful intellect, which poisons its moral perceptions at their sources, is a still greater evil. We will speak plainly. The unreflecting admiration of the ancient republics, and particularly that of Athens, taught by rote, and perpetuated by habit, has frequently corrupted, through the best feelings of the heart, that early patriotism, which, under right discipline, might have given to the country a race of sober and contemplative statesmen; but which, from erroneous impressions concerning these ancient polities taken in with their first principles, has issued only in the multiplication of noisy and factious agitators. A little school learning upon these subjects has been an ample capital to set up a modern brawler for liberty.

Thus Professor Dalzel, tranquilly adopting the old common places of the lecture-room, talks of the constitution of Athens as the consummation of wisdom, and drawing from the scanty stock of that light holyday reading, which, on some subjects, is worse than ignorance, descants very volubly upon Grecian virtue and Grecian freedom. We were happy, when we turned to the eleventh and twelfth chapters of Dr. Hill's work, to find a calm and perspicuous analysis of the Athenian government, unmixed with the declamation which many writers conceive themselves bound to furnish, when Athens is the subject of their discourses. We are not insensible to the military valour and heroic devotion with which the Athenians defended their own liberties and those of Greece from foreign invasion; but the later periods of their commonwealth exhibit all the vices of popular government. Never were they traced by a more powerful hand than that of Mr. Burke. As the early productions of that great genius are, in some sort, obscured by the brightness of his maturer fame, an extract from the little tract, called a *Vindication*

tion of Natural Society, a sportive paradox in ridicule of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy, may not be familiar to every reader. For this reason, and by way of antidote to the vapid effusions of Mr. Dalzel, we do not apologize for inserting one of the correctest pieces of historical painting within our recollection.

"The Athenians made a very rapid progress to the most enormous excesses." The people under no restraint soon grew dissolute, luxurious, and idle; they renounced all labour, and began to subsist themselves from the public revenues; they lost all concern for their common honour or safety, and could bear no advice that tended to reform them. At this time truth became offensive to those lords, the people, and most highly dangerous to the speaker. The orators no longer ascended the rostrum, but to corrupt them further with the most fulsome adulation. These orators were all bribed by foreign princes on the one side or the other; and, besides its own parties in this city, there were parties, and avowed ones too, for the Persians, Spartans, and Macedonians, supported, each of them, by one or more demagogues pensioned and bribed to this iniquitous service. The people, forgetful of all virtue and public spirit, and intoxicated with the flatteries of their orators (these courtiers of republics, and endowed with the distinguishing characteristics of all other courtiers), this people, I say, at last arrived at that pitch of madness, that they coolly and deliberately, by an express law, made it capital for any man to propose an application of the immense sums squandered in public shows even to the most necessary purposes of the state. When you see the people of this republic banishing and murdering their best and ablest citizens, dissipating the publick treasure with the most senseless extravagance, and spending their whole time as spectators or actors, in playing, fiddling, dancing, and singing, does it not, my Lord, strike your imagination with the image of a sort of complex Nero? And does it not strike you with the greatest horror, when you observe, not one man only, but a whole city, grown drunk with pride and power, running with a rage of folly into the same mean and senseless debauchery and extravagance? But if this people resembled Nero in their extravagance, much more did they resemble, and even exceed him in cruelty and injustice. In the time of Pericles, one of the most celebrated times in the history of that commonwealth, a King of Egypt sent them a donation of corn. This they were mean enough to accept. And had the Egyptian prince intended the ruin of this city of wicked bedlamites, he could not have taken a more effectual method to do it than by such an ensnaring largess. The distribution of this bounty caused a quarrel; the majority set on foot an enquiry into the title of the citizens; and upon a vain pretence of illegitimacy, newly and occasionally set up, they deprived of their share of the royal donation no less than five thousand of their own body. They went further; they disfranchised them; and having once begun with an act of injustice, they could set no bounds to it. Not content with cutting them off from the rights of citizens, they plundered these unfortunate wretches of all their substance; and to crown this master-

piece of violence and tyranny, they actually sold every man of the five thousand as slaves in the publick market. Observe, my Lord, that the five thousand we here speak of, were cut off from a body of no more than nineteen thousand, for the entire number of citizens was no greater at that time. Could the tyrant who wished the Roman people but one neck; could the tyrant Caligula himself have done, nay, he could scarcely have wished for, a greater mischief, than to have cut off, at one stroke, a fourth of his people? Or has the cruelty of that series of sanguine tyrants, the Cæsars, ever presented such a piece of flagrant and extensive wickedness? The whole history of this celebrated republick is but one tissue of rashness, folly, ingratitude, injustice, tumult, violence, and tyranny, and indeed every species of wickedness that can well be imagined. This was a city of wise men, in which a minister would not exercise his functions; a warlike people, amongst whom a general did not dare either to gain or lose a battle; a learned nation in which a philosopher could not venture on a free enquiry. This was the city which banished Themistocles, starved Aristides, forced into exile Miltiades, drove out Anaxagoras, and poisoned Socrates. This was a city which changed the form of its government with the moon; eternal conspiracies, revolutions daily, nothing fixed and established. A republic, as an ancient philosopher has observed, is no one species of government, but a magazine of every species; here you find every sort of it, and that in the worst form. As there is a perpetual change, one rising and the other falling, you have all the violence and wicked policy by which a beginning power must always acquire its strength, and all the weakness by which falling states are brought to a complete destruction."

Concerning the philosophy of Greece nothing is given us in Mr. Dalzel's volumes, except a short analysis of the Socratic doctrines, taken from Dr. Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments. The thirty-second lecture is dedicated to Grecian eloquence; but the pleasing expectation it raises proves equally unsubstantial. A few biographical scraps about Demosthenes and Æschines are nearly all that it contains; and even here he still keeps the beaten track, from which if he deviates he trusts to the conduct of a misleading guide. That guide is Leland's Life of Philip; a book of little authority, and not original even in its blunders; for they were literally copied from Olivier. Of course, therefore, his estimate of the character of Philip, and of the policy pursued by that able monarch, is conformable to Leland's; and Demosthenes comes in for a corresponding share of praise, or rather idolatry. Such indeed is the historical faith which long habitude renders us unwilling to relinquish; and we confess that we felt some inquietude when maturer years and more attentive reading induced us to part with our early prepossessions. Demosthenes, indeed, struggling amidst the corruptions of the Greek commonwealths, and the proverbial levities and inconstancy of his own, to awaken a



common spirit of liberty against the encroachments of Philip, is a great moral spectacle in the history of the world. Our feelings, however, on these subjects, must not be at variance with reason; something is still wanting to the grandeur of the picture, and, much as we may admire the impetuous torrent of argument and eloquence, which enabled him to wield at will, "that fierce democracy," we cannot revere him as the consummate statesman, without the calm conviction that his great talents were directed to just and patriotic ends. Without such a conviction, indeed, we may feel the magic effects of his eloquence; that genuine eloquence which, at once chaste and vehement, harmonious and robust, borrowed no aid from fancy, contemned the puerilities of illustration and figure, threw off in its athletic course the trappings of vulgar rhetoric as idle incumbrances, and rushed forward at once to its object. But all this will come short of satisfying the taste for moral beauty. We fear that this has been too much overlooked in the notions which are instilled at schools and universities respecting Demosthenes.

It is natural that the enthusiasm excited by such eloquence should bribe our judgments from their integrity. The wily and intriguing statesman is overlooked in the matchless and irresistible orator. Hence we have suffered our historical prejudices to convert a monarch whom the voice of antiquity almost without dissent, has held up to us as an example of moderation and virtue rarely to be found in that elevated condition, into a crafty and overbearing tyrant. We, therefore, owe usurious amends to Philip for the part which we have taken against him. They who still adhere to the vulgar opinion that it was Demosthenes who, in the eventful contests of the time, monopolized all its virtue and its patriotism, would do well to recollect that the stern and inflexible justice of Phocion was uniformly ranged against him; that Phocion was the steady friend of Philip, from the earliest to the latest stage of his life; and that even the speeches of Demosthenes himself, when he was at a loss for a keen reproach to the Athenians, bore the strongest testimony to the great qualities of the Macedonian. If any doubt can be entertained by any one on this subject, we will remind him of the letter sent by Philip to the Athenians in answer to the fourth Philippic, which was universally considered as a declaration of war;—a letter full of sound reasoning, and breathing a spirit of moderation and good temper rarely exhibited in the state papers of any age. It has fortunately been preserved by Demosthenes in his speech for the crown, and we strenuously recommend it to the perusal of future Greek lecturers at Edinburgh and St. Andrews.

With regard to the orator himself, he is by no means exempt

from the reproach to which all the Athenian orators are liable,—of pandering to the base passions of the many-headed tyrant, and promulgating maxims repugnant to every notion of honesty and justice. That which the people willed, was always right; that which was for their interest, was always expedient; that which was expedient, was always just. Machiavel himself would have shuddered at the policy recommended by Demosthenes concerning the Rhodians, who were living under a mild and liberal aristocracy. He tells the assembly in plain terms that there must be no aristocracy in Greece.

“Not the Rhodians only, but the Chians, Lesbians, in short all mankind, were living under a form of government different from the Athenian. The danger of the Athenian democracy was alarming, and those who establish any other form of government ought to be esteemed the common enemies of freedom.”

Again—

“If all indeed would be just, then it would be shameful if the Athenians were otherwise. But when all others are providing for themselves with means to be formidable, for us alone to cultivate justice, and scruple to use advantageous occasions, I consider not as uprightness, but as weakness. All states regulate their rights by their power.”

It is impossible not to contrast with the religious faith and sturdy rectitude of the Roman republic this crooked policy, which reminds us of the studied or accidental adoption of these infernal maxims by the National Convention of France, one and indivisible, at a period not very remote from that in which we now write. We might dilate farther on these topics, but enough has been said to show the importance of conveying correct impressions of the great characters of history.

Were we to draw out a catalogue of Professor Dalzel's omissions, we should occupy a space equal to that which has been consumed already. Of the three great institutions which, after the Dorian conquest, were the main instruments of preserving Greece from a relapse into barbarism, and in every stage of her progress most powerfully influenced her affairs,—the Oracles, the Council of Amphictyon, and the Public Games, little is said, and that little might as well have been omitted. The third part treats of the polite learning of the Greeks; and here we began to indulge the prospect of being repaid by the taste and learning of Mr. Dalzel, for the severe trial to which he had put our patience in other parts of his work. But we were soon taught the error of our calculations.

With expectations, however, still unsubdued by successive disappointments, we hoped, at least, that when we came to the ancient drama, some curious research would open upon us. We

were once more disappointed. The lecturer is so completely satisfied with all that has been said before, that he trudges along in the same heavy march round the circle of vulgar opinions, without one effort or aspiration beyond it. Is it to be wondered at, therefore, that so reverend and consecrated an absurdity as the three dramatic unities should receive the profound homage of Professor Dalzel; that his criticisms upon the ancient drama should wear the livery of this antiquated error; that he should render suit and service to Aristotle, wholly unmindful of the successful revolt of Shakspeare and Nature? His remarks are a dull and superficial echo of the French school; but if the expiring authority of these exploded tenets are ever to be revived, it is not, we will venture to affirm, by such reasoning as we find in this volume.

The diligence of the Greek Professor, however, ought at least to have led him to the passage in Aristotle's *Poetics*, the source of this long contest, which has caused the shedding of so much ink, and puzzled so many understandings. No such thing: he does not appear to have read it. It is a remarkable circumstance that Aristotle,\* who has given his name to the unities, speaks only with any minuteness of unity of action, concerning which, liberally interpreted and rightly understood, there can be no dispute,—for it must be admitted to be essentially requisite to dramatic poetry. To the second unity, that of time, he makes only a vague and passing allusion. Of the unity of place he has not said a syllable. “But,” observes Mr. Dalzel, “these rules were strictly observed and attended to by the ancient Greek tragic writers.” This is inconsiderately said. The *Agamemnon* of Æschylus comprehends the whole space of time from the destruction of Troy to the arrival of that prince at Mycenæ, which must have been a considerable number of days. In the *Trachiniæ* of Sophocles, the journey from Thessaly, in Eubœa, is made three times. In the *Suppliants* of Euripides, an army marches from Athens, arrives at Thebes, gives battle, and returns in triumph, and all this during the recitation of the chorus. In the *Eumenides* of Æschylus, Orestes returns from Delphi to Athens, a journey of several days. As to unity of place, the continued presence of the chorus rendered a frequent change of scene impracticable; but it is wholly changed in the *Eumenides* of Æschylus, and the *Ajux* of Sophocles. And here it ought to be observed that, in the ancient theatres, the scene comprehended a much wider space than in ours. It generally represented the public place where there were various buildings, temples, and basilika. When the interior of a building was re-

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\* *Arist. Poetic.*

presented, a machine called the encyclema gave a view of the inner apartments, and thus answered the modern purpose of raising the curtain.

But it is still more singular that in his twenty-second lecture, which professes to trace the Greek tragedy from its earliest beginnings, Mr. Dalzel should betray an inexcusable negligence of the most extraordinary phenomenon in its progress—the sudden transition, almost anomalous in the literature of nations, with which it leaped, as it were, from its rudest elements to a state nearly mature: a miraculous energy, which repeals the ordinances of nature, and outstrips the developments of time, but not peculiar to the Greek drama only; for the Greek language itself, bounding at once from its oriental infancy, arose almost to sudden consummation, and became immediately in the hands of Homer, ready for every tone of passion and every operation of mind, and furnished with that variety of inflexion, and vigour of combination, which have given it a lasting empire over the heart and the understanding.

Here we must close; there is no end of pursuing the lengthening chain of Mr. Dalzel's errors and omissions.

ART. XVI. *An Apology for the Freedom of the Press, and for General Liberty, with Corrections: New Edition. 1821.*

THE capacity of being the instrument of diffusing happiness, in the purest and most permanent understanding of the term, is man's highest distinction, as it most assimilates him to the divine nature. Knowledge is one of the appointed means; and knowledge can neither be attained nor imparted without free discussion. By virtue of the freedom of the press, a private Englishman, if he be mentally capable of making the fullest use of it, possesses a power of influencing the condition of his fellow-mortals, greater than that of the sovereign who reigns despotically over millions.

Bacon, Newton, and Locke, have modified the intellectual existence of all Europe, and still reign with a silent, yet real, influence. Their works are now, indeed, the common property of mankind: but it is the glory of mental dominion, that it has the principle of perpetuation in itself; and the distinction it confers is not the less honourable, because the homage it receives is voluntary.

The right of free discussion is no less sacred than it is valuable; God has consecrated it by employing it in imparting

the knowledge of his Word, "that last best gift of heaven;" and dearly should England prize a privilege which has given to her sons the will and the power to be foremost among the nations of the earth, in the diffusion of revealed truth. To her blessed agency, in thus employing the power of the press, enlightened millions will, at no distant period, it is probable, confess their deep and lasting obligations.

We deem it important thus to declare our attachment to the liberty of the press, before we enter upon the invidious task of opposing a writer in so many respects, and in some so deservedly popular, as the Reverend Robert Hall; while he contends for rights which have scarcely any other limit than the wisdom of the people who are to exercise them?

It is very foreign to our wish to lessen Mr. Hall's influence as a minister of the gospel. The elegance of his fancy, and the vivacity of his illustrations, when found on the side of the great truths of Christianity, cannot fail to delight as well as interest and instruct; and his conduct in private life we are taught to believe forms a contrast to the spirit which seems to us to characterize his feelings towards those whom he views through the discolouring mists of religious and political differences.

Mr. Hall pleads, in extenuation of the faults his pamphlet may contain, that it was a youthful production. His youth, however, was not very green; having reached the age of twenty-eight years at its first publication: but had this been otherwise, when a Christian minister, at the age of fifty-six, republishes his own work, he must have some very prevailing collateral reason for retaining that which his maturer judgment must whisper to him is calculated to disturb the harmony and happiness of society, of which he forms a part. It is but too probable that it appeared to him, in re-perusing his performance, that its juvenile warmth constituted so large a portion of its vigour, that to quell the fever would be to quench the fire. We shall endeavour to show, in the course of this article, that Mr. Hall has judged well for the success of his publication, in not referring his pretensions as a jurist, a statesman, or a patriot, to the award of calm deliberative judgment, or the test of tried and acknowledged principles, but to the decision of those whose selfish and factious purposes have been at all times carried forward by deceptively placing before the view of the public impracticable theories and abstract rights, the prosecution of which is experimentally known to be the sure road to military despotism. We will not charge upon Mr. Hall the full knowledge of these consequences, and yet we must not deny him the credit of great acuteness: we will therefore adopt a middle course, and consider him as made the instrument of unintentional mischief by feelings of humanity and views of

perfectibility, urged into dangerous action by the morbid influence of party associations and religious hostility. As for ourselves, we are disposed to narrow our party as much as Mr. Hall seeks to enlarge his; and while he speaks of the Dissenters as "a virtuous and oppressed body of men," (p. 87) "who agree in nothing but condemning all human authority in matter of conscience," (p. 71)—we declare ourselves to be of the party of Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley; of Hooker and Taylor—in a word, of the Church of England: not as it may be seen alloyed in the practice of men, but as it is to be found in her Articles and Liturgy.—In this character, we enter this preliminary protest against condemning the Church of England, because its members partake of the frailty of human nature; and we affirm, that it is very disingenuous and inconsistent with Christian charity, to ascribe to the Church of England the conduct of its members in those respects in which its publicly recorded principles would disavow them.—All who violate the essential principles of the Established Church, among which must be enumerated holiness, brotherly love, and charity, as well as its peculiar faith, are so far forth Dissenters, and must be included in that large and liberal party of which Mr. Hall is the champion and the eulogist; since those persons practically disavow the authority of the community to which they profess to belong; and since no society can be equitably charged with that which exists only in contempt of its authority. In following Mr. Hall through his work, we shall attend, principally, to its spirit, its consistency, and its practical tendency, considering these as the most important and interesting respects in which it can be viewed, either as to himself or to the community.

In his preliminary pages Mr. Hall takes occasion to speak of Bishop Horsley, and of Mr. Pitt; both of them men highly gifted and eminent as public characters; both of them having long ceased to offend when Mr. Hall republished his pamphlet, wherein it has pleased him to record, that he thought some forbearance due to departed genius: alas! that he should have contented himself with so little.

The Reverend Robert Hall is a preacher of the gospel; it would be a breach of charity, therefore, in us to impute to him uncharitable dispositions. We could have wished, however, for the consistency of his principles, and for the honour of that living faith which we know he inculcates, that he could have persuaded himself to have shown a little mercy to the fame and character of the departed Bishop, who appears to have been, in his eyes, an object of such supreme contempt, that had he spared him, out of tenderness to his friends, the cause of Mr. Hall and his party, it would seem, would have lost little or nothing by

the forbearance. So weak an antagonist was scarcely worth what it must have cost a Christian minister to load a brother in Christ with unmeasured revilings, a man too, who, by Mr. Hall's confession, ignorant as he was of those arcana of political science into which he, Mr. Hall, has been initiated, was, nevertheless, endowed with genius of some sort. But let us do Mr. Hall justice. In his advertisement to his present edition, advertizing to the original pamphlet, he says, "One passage in the preface delineating the character of the late Bishop Horsley is omitted. On *mature* reflection it appeared to the writer not *quite* consistent, either with the spirit of Christianity, or with the reverence due to departed genius." Now the reader shall see what Mr. Hall (from his retaining it) must be presumed to think to be quite consistent with the spirit of Christianity, and the reverence due to departed genius.

Original preface, p. 12: "With respect to the first (the gall of bitterness), we must have plenty of that article, since he has distilled his own; and if the bonds of iniquity are not added, it is only because they are not within the reach of his *mighty malice*."

The reverence due to departed genius!!

"It is time to turn from this disgusting picture of sanctimonious hypocrisy and priestly insolence, to address a word to the reader of the following pamphlet." It is not we that say so, but Mr. Hall. "The political sentiments of Dr. Horsley are, in truth, of too little consequence in themselves to engage a moment's curiosity, and deserve attention only as they indicate the spirit of the times." This is the language of Robert Hall, of and concerning Samuel Horsley; and these are not the passages he thought it right to suppress in dispensing his "tender mercies."

With respect to Dr. Horsley, notwithstanding all that Mr. Robert Hall has expectorated against him, we are not ashamed to avow our admiration and gratitude. There is not a posthumous fragment of that great man that does not well deserve to be cherished by Mr. Hall himself, if he be as sincere as we suppose him to be for the maintenance and propagation of the "faith once delivered to the saints." It is but lately that he hath again spoken to us from his grave, "sound doctrine to exhort and to convince the gainsayers;" his dust still retains his fires—his *genius* still blossoms upon his sepulchre.

Mr. Pitt had the indiscretion to be on a different side in politics from Mr. Hall; and if it were a grievous fault, grievously has he answered it.

Mr. Hall having argued the point as to the right of the sovereign to land foreign troops, continues,

"But it is needless any further to expose the effrontery, or detect the sophistry of this *shameless apostate*."—"A veteran in *frauds* whilst in the bloom of youth; betraying first, and then persecuting his earliest friends and connexions: falsifying every promise, and violating every political engagement, &c. are traits in the conduct of Pitt, which entitle him to a fatal pre-eminence in *guilt*." (P. 3, Adver.)

"The qualities of this man balance in an extraordinary manner, and sustain each other: the influence of his station—the extent of his enormities invest him with a kind of splendour; and the contempt we feel for his meanness and duplicity is lost in the dread of his *machinations*, and the abhorrence of his *crimes*. Too long has he insulted the patience of his countrymen; nor ought we, when we observe the indifference with which the iniquities of Pitt's administration are viewed, to reproach the Romans for tamely submitting to the *tyranny* of *Caligula* or *Domitian*."

This was the language of Mr. Hall in 1793. After an interval of 28 years, during which the affairs of the country have, with one short interruption, been administered on the plans and principles of Mr. Pitt, this loud-tongued assailant renews his attack, and goes on to impute to the party who have been dominant in the country for 40 years, and under whom it has made unparalleled advances in science, in population, in wealth, in power, and in liberality of sentiment, "whatever is most illiberal in principle; and intolerant in practice." Pref. to Edit. 1821.

"That we were not 'confounded in the perilous time,' we owe to Mr. Pitt's firm hand and commanding voice; and, probably, had it not been for that 'apostate,' and those principles which have given him an influence while his body moulders in its grave, Mr. Robert Hall would have had far other political objects against which he might have displayed his rhetoric, and directed the artillery of his tropes and figures, unless a prudent regard to his safety had imposed on him that moderation which the liberty he now enjoys has failed to inspire him with. Mr. Hall establishes his consistency on his adherence at fifty-six to the wrathful effusions of twenty-eight. The pillar of Mr. Pitt's glory rests on what is called his *apostasy*. As he advanced in experience, he gloriously deserved the bitter accusations of those whose errors, or evil designs, the warmth, shall we say the petulance, of his early youth had flattered with the hope of his lasting co-operation.

While the passions were yet warm with the politics which Dr. Price had excited, Mr. Hall has spoken of the indecency, in reference to him, of not respecting the ashes of the dead; and his appeal is made to a sacred principle of common infirmity, which tells us we shall soon be as they are, and lie, in some measure, at the mercy of our enemies: yet this thought does not



dilute the bitter feelings, in youth or in age, of this consistent reformer Mr. Hall, or teach "him to reverence the sacred dead."

We propose to consider Mr. Hall as a jurist, a statesman, and a patriot: and, first, as to his mode of treating the question of the freedom of the press, or more specifically "The Law of Libel."

We have applied our best attention, in vain, to discover what Mr. Hall means by the freedom of the press, for which he undertakes to apologize: whether, in his opinion, it *exists*, or *does not exist*. An apology would imply that there was some life in it, for it is not usual to apologize for a dead friend; yet Mr. Hall assures us "that the following apology for the freedom of the press is an eulogium on a dead friend:" thus it would appear that his friend is dead; when he died is not so clear, although it must have been about the time the apology was originally written, for therein Mr. Hall speaks of him as being in a very bad way: he must have died, probably, about the time when Dr. Priestley, "the first of England's sons," left England, "the most enlightened of countries," (p. 82) for America, and then the apology assumed the character of an eulogium.

It would seem that Mr. Hall means, by the freedom of the press, an irresponsible, and, in that sense, "an unlimited right of discussing every subject which can fall within the compass of the human mind," (p. 2), and that his eye, "in a fine phrenzy rolling," has caught a glimpse of this seraphic state; for he says, with reference to it, "whilst *this remains*, freedom will flourish." But this could be nothing but the apparition of his dead friend,

"Cernere uti videamus eos, audireque coram,  
"Morte obita quorum tellus amplectitur ossa."

It is right that Mr. Hall's admirers should know what glorious privileges he claims for them, and that it is an irresponsible press alone that is free; that not only sedition, but all those other free discussions that frighten women and children, are "wholesome physic to the land;" and that he contends, not only for the privilege to publish all these things, but for impunity to those that do so; and since "magistrates can have power given them, but not wisdom," (p. 2) he says, that an attempt on their part, "to distinguish truth from error, and to countenance one set of opinions to the prejudice of another, is to apply power in a manner mischievous and absurd." (P. 3.) And the reason why the magistrate should not (then, of course, the laws cannot) take any cognizance of public discussion, is founded on a distinction between sentiment and conduct.

He says (p. 6), "The behaviour of men in society will be

influenced by motives drawn from the prospect of good and evil : here, then, is the proper department of government, as it is capable of applying that good and evil by which actions are determined.

Now, we should have thought that that which a man says, and writes, and prints, and publishes, was a part of his behaviour; and have inferred, therefore, that it came within the proper department of government to take cognizance of it: but it is not so; for Mr. Hall continues, "*Truth, on the contrary, is quite of a different nature, being supported only by evidence; and where this is represented, we cannot withhold our consent; so, where this is wanting, no power or authority can command it.*" By which it can hardly be meant, and yet what else can be meant, that the reader should infer that, *because* truth is supported by evidence, men should be encouraged by a promise of impunity to publish what they list, however fraudulent or false.

In p. 9, Mr. Hall uses the following argument. "Government is the creature of the people; and that which they have created, they surely have a right to examine."

Thus, it is clear that all the men who live under a government have a right to examine it, and, we presume, arraign and call it to account, and perhaps dissolve it if they can.

These creators of the English government not being conveniently situated to assert their right, the national benefit from this important principle is not quite so clear. Let the right, however, remain. It flatters the majesty of the mob, and serves to supply the sustenance of discontent.

Mr. Hall argues through several pages, very sensibly, on the advantages of free inquiry; but, in following him, it might be as well to bear in mind, that the privilege of free inquiry is one thing; and that whether a man should be responsible or not to the community, through the laws, for his exercise of the privilege, is another.

Mr. Hall knows that the only ground on which a criminal charge can rest is, that the person charged meant to do an injury, and of this intention the jury are to judge. Will Mr. Hall say, that no man can mean to do an injury who uses his pen as the instrument? This would be a new benefit of clergy,—an absolution and indulgence more sweeping and wanton than any which have issued from the prodigality of Papal Rome. Then, if the pen may embody an evil intention, why, when twelve men decide on the life or death of a fellow creature, may they not determine on the charge of libellous intention, "for the repressing of evil acts, on the principle of dispensing good and evil, by which actions are determined." (P. 3.)

As Mr. Hall has said nothing expressly on the subject, should

he choose to hold that he thinks the magistrate may take cognizance of private libels, and of publications hostile to moral purity, what becomes of "the most capital advantage an enlightened people can enjoy," (p. 2) that of "the liberty of discussing *every* subject which can fall within the compass of the human mind?"

If a person is made responsible, in one instance, this "most capital advantage" is gone; therefore, we think we do Mr. Hall no injustice when we say, that he considers all attempts to make men responsible to the laws for opinions expressed in print, how false, injurious, and defamatory soever they may be, to be "an application of power mischievous and absurd." His arguments and general language make no exceptions with respect to private libels, or as to obscenity and blasphemy,\* and it is but fair that those who admire Mr. Hall's Apology for the Freedom of the Press, should know to how much that apology extends.

A privilege to publish whatever any individual pleases Mr. Hall well knew his countrymen to be in possession of, subject only to the condition which we contend should attach to all power, that of being answerable to the community for the intentional mischief flowing from its exercise; and he disingenuously sophisticates in ascribing to the magistrate, whom he assumes "to have power, but not wisdom," the office of punishing, which is in a jury, whose sympathy with the accused is, at all times, if the laws are fairly administered,† a sufficient protection to the innocent. If this be the liberty of the press for which Mr. Hall contends, we defy him to name the period when it existed; which, if he cannot do, his dead friend was still-born, preserved only in the museum of the new philosophy, among its other extravagant and abortive products.

We repeat, that never since England was a nation did there exist an irresponsible "freedom of discussion as to every subject which can fall within the compass of the human mind." And we

\* In Mr. Hall's Letter to the Editor of the Leicester Journal, he asks, "But when did I plead for the publication of blasphemy, fettered or unfettered? To plead for the liberty of divulging speculative opinions is one thing, and to assert the right of uttering blasphemy is another. For blasphemy, which is the speaking contumeliously of God, is not a speculative error, but it is an overt act, a crime which no state should tolerate." Compare this with the broad and unqualified claim "of an unlimited right of discussing every subject which can fall within the compass of the human mind." (Apology, p. 2.)

† Any abuses which may have crept in as to the striking of juries, or the forms of trial, are fair subjects of discussion, and their full exposure must, sooner or later, lead to their correction. The Attorney-general's power of filing *ex officio* informations will be best preserved, and, we believe, by no other means than by its temperate exercise,

feel satisfied that there are some publications, which the cupidity and baseness of individuals would circulate, that Mr. Hall, if he had the power, would suppress; and which judges and juries may be allowed to decide upon, with benefit to the country. If by the freedom of the press he means the absence of a censor, and the suspension of all punishment, until a jury shall have pronounced the act an injury, we agree with him in claiming it for our country. If it be the loss of this liberty that he affects to deplore, we consider his grief hypocritical, and his patriotism faction: if he wants more than this, he claims that which never was possessed as a right; and if it could exist as a right, it would be, in truth, a RIGHT TO DO WRONG.

Considering Mr. Hall then as a jurist, we feel compelled to doubt whether he has well considered the law of libel, and the effect of the impunity for which he so pertinaciously contends. We congratulate him, however, on the tact he has shown in withdrawing his publication, when the temper of the times induced the Attorney-general to honour it with his notice; and in republishing it now that a greater degree of what is called liberality of feeling renders any such attention to it improbable.

On associations we have but little to say—they must derive their character from their conduct. To unite for good objects is laudable; to unite for questionable ones is blameable. Persons acting in union can effect that of which individuals are incapable; but as the sense of responsibility lessens with its division, it becomes the more important to watch the spirit and procedure of all such political combinations. The possibility of abuse may raise a question as to their expediency; but their legality can only be questioned by much-mistaking, or ill-designing men. What it is right to wish for, it can scarcely be wrong to take honest means to attain; and surely good men do well to associate in support of the laws, when the bad conspire to do ill in defiance of them. At any rate, such combinations are of a very popular cast. Mr. Hall says, that as the people are the creators of all legitimate government, they have a right to examine it;—we say, that as the people, in a popular and free government, are greatly concerned in the making of laws, they may surely, by honest means, endeavour to enforce them. In the freest governments, and in the freest times of our own government, this has been a province in which the people have acted, and in which the theory of our constitution calls upon them to act. They are, after all, the most effectual conservators of their own peace and their own morals; and while we view with dismay such unions as Mr. Hall would encourage, we can see without apprehension the moral and the loyal uniting to support the laws by recognising, affirming,

and appealing to them in a time when all arts are in operation to bring them into contempt, and to embarrass their execution.

The question of Reform in Parliament brings Mr. Hall forward as a statesman. Annual parliaments and universal suffrage are with him the great panacea for all the disorders of the state: and the state is, in his view, one mass of corruption.

Mr. Hall's plan of reform proposes to exclude the sons of peers from the House of Commons—to remove the elective franchise from decayed to populous places, and to shorten the duration of parliaments.

On the first point he is silent on the advantage the House of Lords derives from the political education which many of its members obtain in the House of Commons, previous to their entrance into the Upper House; but, assuming that "our liberty depends on the balance and controul of the several orders in the state," he says, "it *must* be extremely absurd to blend them together by placing the father in one department of the legislature and his family in the other."

This extreme absurdity has escaped other reformers. It has perhaps occurred to them that as the balance of the legislature depends as much, at least, on its branches having common as diverse interests, their *union* of principle may be as fair an object to promote as their *jealousy* of power.

How highly Mr. Hall appreciates the passion of jealousy on the large scale of national interests is apparent from the following extracts: (p. 40.) "The purest times of the Roman Republic were distinguished by violent dissensions:" (pure times for the radicals) "but they consisted (the dissensions did) in the jealousy of the several orders of the state among each other; on the ascendancy of the patricians on the one side, and the plebeians on the other; an useful struggle that maintained the balance and the equipoise of the constitution."

But even things so excellent as dissensions will not last for ever, for "in the progress of corruption *things took a turn*," and a strange turn they took, for "the *permanent* parties which spring from the *fixed* principles of government were lost." An extraordinary event this to lose "permanent parties" springing from "fixed principles," and so in the progress of corruption to lose "struggles," and "jealousies," and "violent dissensions;" but some purity remained, for "the citizens arranged themselves under Marius or Scylla, Cæsar or Pompey, while the Republic stood by without any interest in the dispute, a passive and helpless victim." Which sounds a little extraordinary to common ears like our own; since *victims* are generally allowed to have an interest in the decision on which their fate depends.

Mr. Hall continues—

“The crisis of the fall of freedom in different nations, with respect to the causes that produce it, is extremely uniform. After the manner of the ancient factions we hear much in England of the Bedford Party; the Rockingham Party; the Portland Party; when it would puzzle the wisest man to point out their political distinction. The useful jealousy of the separate orders is extinct, being all melted down and blended into one mass of corruption. The House of Commons looks with no jealousy on the House of Lords, nor the House of Lords on the House of Commons. The struggle in both is maintained by the ambition of powerful individuals and families, between whom the kingdom is thrown as the prize, and the moment they unite they perpetuate its subjection and divide its spoils.”

Thus a momentary union perpetuates its subjection; but it is a peculiar consequence that they do not get the kingdom for a spoil, but only the spoils of the kingdom; “they divide its spoils.”

In p. 27, Mr. Hall gives us his notion of the theory of the constitution, and says that it presents three independent powers, “The King as the executive head, with a negative in the legislature; an hereditary House of Peers, and an assembly of Commons, who are appointed to represent the nation at large.” “From this enumeration,” (one, two, three,) “it is plain that the people of England can have no liberty, that is, no share in forming the laws, but what they exert through the medium of the last of these bodies, nor then but in proportion to its independence on the other.” It is a great pity there are no Englishmen in the House of Peers, otherwise this sad consequence, that “we can have no liberty but that which we exercise through the House of Commons,” would not follow: for the English nation might then have liberty, (or make laws, which Mr. Hall says is the same thing,) through the medium of its two Houses of Parliament, although they should unfortunately agree together touching some points of legislation. Mr. Hall forgets that the great excellency of the British constitution is, that all its parts sympathize; and that it is only when this sympathy would be likely to yield to selfish or private feelings, that its branches, like those of the compound pendulum, being differently affected, regulate each other. In almost all cases, especially those which regard the security of property, and the liberty of the subject, the Peers have the same interest as the Commons, and are therefore natural guardians of the national rights; with a bias, it may be, against democracy, which many as good judges of the British constitution as the Rev. Robert Hall, will be apt to admire and approve, because they think that all power is in and of the people, and because they attend to the teaching of experi-

ence, which shows how ill qualified are the people for its *direct* exercise.

It is the part of common prudence to distrust all schemes of alteration when they come from those who dissent in toto from the system they propose to set right. A man can have no sincere interest in improving that which he wishes to be demolished. Mr. Hall must therefore excuse us for hesitating upon this preliminary ground to receive his advice. We have also another personal objection to listening to the "voice of this charmer, charm he never so wisely," arising from a certain prejudice we entertain against a reverend gentleman's desertion of his vocation to give us lectures in politics. There is a province of reformation falling within the immediate circle of his duty, to which it would be happy for himself and others could he persuade himself to confine his talents; *especially* at a time of life, too, when the pastoral care, and the labours of love and peace, have an acknowledged right to engross a man who has taken upon himself the charge of human souls. We have observed, too, that men who travel out of their proper sphere to engage in controversies and concerns foreign to their function, character, or profession, are the most apt to adopt all the extravagances and excesses of the department into which they obtrude themselves. We allow that it is a most masculine and courageous part which a firm and virtuous clergyman has to perform, to whatever communion he may belong; but in one respect we may compare him with the gentler sex, who, when they step out of their natural and prescribed province to assume a robuster character, are usually found to exhibit that character in its least agreeable and useful form: so the clerical wanderer from the peaceful path of his pastoral labour rarely preserves a correct line, or bears his faculties meekly in the foreign capacity with which he has chosen to invest himself. There is something of dislocation and disorder in all his proceedings;—his actions display an eccentricity which show that they belong to another sphere.

We shall not attempt to follow Mr. Hall through the desultory windings of his political aberrations. Two or three remarks are all we shall make on his favourite maxims of reform. He is always for carrying us to the first elements of society, and for helping us to ascertain the source and rudiments of power. We deprecate all this useless unravelment; we think that all that we have now to do with power is to watch its modifications and distribution in the organized and balanced scheme of our constitutional liberties: we are afraid of an explosion, and, therefore, would rather be excused from too frequently revisiting the original magazines. Mr. Hall is very sure of the vast benefits we

should derive from annual parliaments and universal suffrage. We do not believe a word of all this. It is an empirical nostrum, formed of poisonous ingredients, that would soon set afloat all those bad humours of the body politic, which, if let alone, will perform, as it has performed, all its functions well. We see nothing but the perpetuation of tumult and disorder in annual parliaments, or, perhaps, what is almost as much to be deprecated, an overbearing aristocratical ascendancy of wealth; for, what small proprietor, or man of middle station, could enter into annual contest with the man of great estate? If votes are to be so reduced in value, men will have little value for their votes; and what is now the object of influence or favour will settle down into a money price, and be the permanent property of the best bidder. What might be the result no man can know before the experiment is made; we know only that it would put all things to hazard, and that we have much to lose.

As to universal suffrage, we have this short answer: we believe that the country is well and effectually represented—not numerically represented, certainly, which is nonsense; but that a fair impression is taken off of that which alone has substance, unity, and consistency, the intelligence of the thinking part of the community. Looking upon the representation of the country as a representation of mind, we consider that in the multi-form nature and composition of the House of Commons, the mind of the country is much more faithfully represented, than if all the members were brought in upon the shoulders of the people, who, in the mass, usually elect without reflection, discrimination, or regard to the solid qualities of human character. We think, that, in the terms of the preamble to the Bill of Rights, to the framers of which we attribute as much practical political knowledge as to the Rev. Robert Hall, “all the estates, (i. e. orders, classes, and degrees,) are represented.” The people are not individually, but they are virtually represented; and we fear not to say to Mr. Hall, that, as the House is at present constituted, its moral and intellectual fund is infinitely greater, and such men as himself in talents are much better represented, than if there were no way of getting into that assembly but by haranguing and cajoling the multitude.

The hostile jealousy of the House of Peers, which Mr. Hall inculcates, would have a direct tendency to make its members equally hostile to the power of the other House. A cordial sense of their common interests is the best security for their respecting and maintaining each other's rights.

Mr. Hall opens his fourth section; “On Theories and Rights of Man,” with this passage:—“Among the many alarming symptoms of the present time, it is not the least, that there is a



prevailing disposition to hold in contempt the theory of liberty as false and visionary."

What theory is here meant we are left to conjecture; he can scarcely mean that the possibility of the existence of liberty is held to be false and visionary: which seems to be the import of his expression, that would, indeed, be an alarming symptom.

From the context, it may be guessed that Mr. Paine's is the theory of liberty alluded to, and that the disposition to hold it in contempt was among the more alarming symptoms of the times in which Mr. Hall wrote. He introduces the names of Sydney and Locke as the founders of the theory of liberty, and proceeds to specify instances of what he considers natural rights.

On the reality of this distinction between natural and civil rights must depend the merits of this section. If it shall prove a mere fiction, the probable motive for inserting it must be some other than a love of liberty.

The instances adduced of natural rights, are,

1. The free use of our faculties in distinguishing truth from falsehood.

2. The exertion of corporeal power without injury to others.

3. The choice of a religion and worship.

These are all the natural rights Mr. Hall enumerates, and we beg to ask him, whether these are not all civil or political rights, and whether he ever knew any one to be disturbed in the exercise of them? It was no fault of the government if he did not freely exercise his faculties in writing, or republishing his Apology. He is not prevented, it is apparent, from beating the air; and we answer for it, that the Secretary of State has not concerned himself with Mr. Hall's religion and worship.

This affected vapouring about rights, "which cannot, with any propriety, be yielded up to human authority," is highly ridiculous, since there is not the slightest pretence for saying that the government requires their surrender. This shadow of a shade, this picture of an imaginary grievance, Mr. Hall must have known full well could have no practical application, no tendency to meliorate the condition of his fellow-citizens, or to improve even the theory of liberty.

Mr. Hall makes considerable use of the ambiguity of the term "natural rights." Sometimes he uses it to express the rights of men, in an imaginary state, in which men never existed, nor ever could exist. At another, he speaks of natural rights in political society, which obviously must be included in civil rights, properly understood; for reason and justice require that every individual in society should have all the good of which he is capable in his relative situation: to this every man has a recog-

nised natural right in civil society; but this has nothing to do with the rights of man in a solitary state, and it is on this sophistical quibble that Mr. Hall founds the following notable argument:—

“From the notion that political society precludes an appeal to natural rights the greatest absurdities must ensue. If that idea be just, it is improper to say of any administration that it is despotic or oppressive, unless it has receded from its first form or model. Civil power can never exceed its limits until it deviates into a new track; for, if every portion of natural freedom be given up by yielding to civil authority, we can never claim any other freedom than those precise ones which were ascertained in its first formation.

“The vassals of despotism may complain, perhaps, of the hardships they suffer; but, unless it appears they are of a new kind, no injury is done them, for no right is violated. Rights are either natural or artificial: the first cannot be pleaded after they are relinquished, and the second cannot be impaired but by a departure from ancient precedents. If a man should be unfortunate enough to live under the dominions of a prince, who, like the monarchs of Persia, could murder his subjects at will, he may be unhappy but cannot complain; for, on Mr. Hey’s theory, he never had any rights but what were created by society, and on Mr. Burke’s, he has for ever relinquished them. The claims of nature being set aside, and the government despotic from the beginning, his misery involves no injustice, and admits of no remedy. It requires little discernment to see that this theory rivets the chains of despotism, and shut out from the political world the smallest glimpse of emancipation and improvement. Its language is, he that is a slave, let him be a slave still.” (P. 59.)

Now let Mr. Hall name the nation where *salus populi* was not the ostensible foundation of the social compact, and he will establish his distinction between natural and political rights; but if, as we shall contend, even in the most despotic government that ever existed, the principle of obedience, in the minds of its subjects was, that it was best for the community to obey: \* then the good of the community is the first, the most essential and inalienable principle of government; and out of this, which is a political principle, must grow all the rights to which man in society can with reason pretend, or in his most perfect state attain to.

Thus if the reader will but bear in mind that in the sense, in which Mr. Hall here uses “natural rights,” they are identical with civil or political rights; the sophistry of the whole argument will be apparent, and the theory that would “rivet the chains of despotism,” will appear to be of Mr. Hall’s own invention.

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\* Mr. Hall confirms this at p. 9, where he says, “In spite of the attempts of sophistry to conceal the origin of political rights, it must necessarily rest, at length, on the acquiescence of the people.”

Politicians out of employ are usually birds of ill omen, and their prognostics are generally "written within and without lamentations, and mourning and woe." As in the chequered course of human events their predictions must sometimes appear right, so their failures we are willing to forget in the greater interest of passing events. This inglorious impunity Mr. Hall is too magnanimous to accept; and he favours the world in 1821 with his prophecies, which thirty years have conspired to falsify, in the hope, perhaps, that he may still prove right; and that he may not lose the credit of it, if such should be the event, we will extract a few of his raven notes.

By adverting to Mr. Hall's view of the state of the country when he wrote his pamphlet;—to his opinion of what was indispensable to its preservation;—to his views in 1803, and to its present state, we shall be aided by the different lights in which Mr. Hall has placed the subject, to form an opinion of what his Christian patriotism suggests upon it.

"Uninstructed by our calamities, we still persist in an *impious* attack on the *liberties* of France, and are eager to take our part in the great drama of *crimes* which is acting on the Continent of Europe. Meantime the violence and injustice of the internal administration keeps (keep) pace with our *iniquities* abroad." (P. 1, Adv. to 3d edit. of Apology.)

"Liberty and Truth are silenced."

"We have arrived, it is a melancholy *truth*, which can no longer be concealed; we have *at length arrived* at that crisis that nothing but speedy and effectual reform can save us from ruin." (P. 88.)

"That the seeds of public convulsion are sown in every country in Europe (our own not excepted) it were vain to deny: seeds which, without the wisest precautions and the most conciliating councils, will break out, it is to be feared, in the overthrow of all governments." (P. 4.)

"The ordinary routine of ministerial chicanery is quite unequal to the task. It would be a mockery of our present ministry, to ask whether they possess the necessary qualities." (P. 5.)

"A silent stream of corruption proceeding over the whole land, has tainted every branch of the administration with decay." (P. 98.)

"There is a respect in my apprehension due to civil governors, on account of their office, which we are not permitted to violate, even when we are under the necessity of blaming the measures." (Fast Sermon, 1803, p. 20.)

"At this season, especially when unanimity is so requisite, every endeavour to excite discontent by reviling the character and depreciating the talents of those who are entrusted with the administration is highly criminal.

"Without suspicion of flattery, we may be permitted to add, that their (the ministers) zeal in the service of their country cannot be questioned; that the preparations they have made claim our gratitude;

and, if they have committed mistakes, they are amply entitled to a candid construction of their measures." (P. 23.)

"Here fidelity compels me to advert to a circumstance, which I mention with sincere reluctance, because it implies *something like* a censure on those whom it is our duty to respect; I mean assigning part of the Sunday to military exercises." (P. 58.)

"It seems a favourite point, with a certain description of men, to stop the progress of inquiry, and throw mankind back into the darkness of the middle ages, from a persuasion, that ignorance will augment their power, as objects look larger in a mist. There is, *in reality*, no other foundation for that alarm which the Bishop expresses." (Original Preface to Apology, p. 2.)

"The present crisis is, in my apprehension, the fullest of terror and danger we have ever experienced. We behold the seeds of political ruin quickening into life." (Apology, p. 104.)

"There cannot be a clearer symptom of the decay of liberty than the dread of speculative opinions, which is at present carried to a length in this nation that can scarcely be exceeded. Englishmen were accustomed, till of late, to make political speculation the amusement of their leisure, and the employment of genius; they are now taught to fear it more than death.

"Under the *torpid touch of despotism*, the patriotic spirit has shrunk into a narrow compass, &c." (P. 92.)

"Are not inquisitorial tribunals elected in every corner of the land?" (Apology, p. 93.)

"We are the only people in the eastern hemisphere who are in possession of equal laws and a free constitution." (Fast Sermon, p. 75.)

"The little public virtue that still subsists is no match for disciplined armies of corruption." (Apology, p. 104.)

"In a country where the people have a voice in the government, the corruption of their laws must first have inherited and become inveterate in their manners." (Fast Sermon, p. 31.)

"Taxation can hardly be more oppressive, representation more venal and inadequate—the influence of the people more extinguished, or falsehood and deception more triumphant, than they are at present." (Apology, p. 105.)

"The freedom which poured into our lap, opulence and arts; and embellished life with innumerable institutions and improvements, till it became a theatre of wonders." (Fast Sermon, p. 76.)

"There now remains but two political parties, the patrons of corruption and the friends of liberty;—they who are waiting for the disorders of the government to ripen into arbitrary power, and they who are anxious to bring back the constitution to its original principles." (Apology, p. 105.)

"A growing unanimity has prevailed among the good in different parties, who, finding a centre of good in the great truths of revelation, and in a solicitude for its interests, are willing to immerge their smaller differences in a common cause." (Fast Sermon, p. 67.)

"I am perfectly aware, that to speak in terms of decency and re-

spect of the French Revolution, is to incur in the prevailing disposition of the times the *last of infamies*. If we dare to rejoice at the emancipation of a great people from thralldom, it must be at the peril of the  *foulest* imputations that imagination can invent or *malignity* supply. In contempt of these calumnies I am free to confess the French Revolution has *always appeared* to me, and *does still appear*, the most splendid event recorded in the annals of history." (Apology, p. 107.)

"The popular delusion is passed; the most unexampled prodigies of guilt have dispelled it; and after a series of rapine and cruelty have torn from every heart the last fibres of mistaken partiality."\* (Fast Sermon, p. 69.)

"When we look at the *distraction* and *misery* of a neighbouring country, we behold a scene that is enough to make the most hardy republican tremble at the idea of a revolution." (Apology, Original Preface, p. 13.)

"Its seeds were sown by some of these with an unsparing hand in France, a congenial soil, where they produced a thick vegetation. The consequences were soon felt. The fabric of society tottered to its base; the earth shook under their feet; the heavens were involved in darkness; and a voice more audible than thunder called upon them to desist. But unmoved amidst the uproar of elements, undismayed by that voice which astonishes nature and appals the guilty, these men continued absorbed in their calculations. Instead of revering the judgments or confessing the finger of God, they only made more haste (on the principle of expediency) to desolate his works and destroy his image, as if they were afraid the shades of a premature night might fall and cover their victims." (Fast Sermon, p. 50.)

"But if a contrary course be taken, the sun of Great Britain is set for ever, her glory departed, and her history added to the catalogue of mighty empires, which exhibit the instability of all human grandeur: of empires which, after they rose by virtue to be the admiration of the world, sunk by corruption into obscurity and contempt.

"If any thing shall then remain of her boasted Constitution, it will display magnificence in disorder, majestic desolation, Babylon in ruins, where in the midst of broken arches and fallen columns, posterity will trace the monuments of our ancient freedom." (Apology, Original Preface, p. 14.)

"As a people, the most certain means of securing lasting prosperity, and of enabling us to transmit unimpaired to those who shall succeed us, the *rich inheritance devolved from our fathers*, will be a speedy return to the spirit and practice of the Gospel." (Fast Sermon, p. 65.)

\* In his Letter to the Editor of the Leicester Journal, page 4, Mr. Hall thus expresses himself, in justification of his republication of his Apology. "It is certainly very unusual for a writer to suppress his own publications, unless he has recanted the principles they contain. To persevere in doing so naturally exposes him to the suspicion that he has renounced his former opinion, or that he is afraid to own them. But, neither of these situations is wise: I have changed no principle, and I feel no fear."

"But when we consider how many of his sincere worshippers, how large a portion of his church, together with how rich a fund of wisdom, of talents, and of all the elements of social order and happiness which he must approve, are enclosed within the limits of this highly favored land, we cannot believe that he intends to give it up a prey unto his enemies." (P. 68.)

"The practice of the Constitution brands with proscription and disgrace a numerous class of the inhabitants on account of their religion." (Apology, p. 99.)

"Religious Toleration has never been complete, even in England." (P. 6.)

"With us the darkness has long been past, and the true light has arisen upon us. We have long possessed the clearest display of divine truth, together with the *fullest liberty of conscience*." (Fast Sermon, p. 27.)

The reader is requested to consider the contrast between these extracts from the Apology, as written in 1793, and republished in 1821, and the Fast Sermon of 1803; and while he admires the statesmanlike character of the latter, he must deplore that Mr. Hall should have "apostatized" a second time, for the sake of consistency. That, after having held one of these opinions in 1793, and adopted the other in 1803 (as it must now seem in a panic of apprehension), he should for the sake of consistency resume the former in 1821, seems most extraordinary; and seeing the honour Mr. Hall had done himself by the manly and patriotic character of his Fast Sermon, it is a *change* much to be regretted. Would that we might be the means of recalling him to those patriotic and Christian sentiments which he so eloquently expressed in 1803.

Mr. Hall's fifth section is "On Dissenters;" and he takes occasion to enumerate and bewail the grievances he considers them to have long lain under—to make various grave charges against the members of the Church of England, and to eulogize the Dissenters without discrimination, claiming for them, of all descriptions, equal loyalty and morality with the members of the establishment, and, as an indisputable fact, much more piety.

The propriety of the re-publication of this tract must depend on the applicability of its contents to existing circumstances; and it is with this reference that we proceed to consider it. We shall extract the passages on each of the above heads, and ask the judgment of the reader, whether Mr. Hall has furnished an example of Christian candour; and whether an interval of twenty-eight years might not have been reasonably expected to have abated more of that warmth of feeling, which, when repented of, youth and inexperience may indeed extenuate, but which requires to be in itself defensible when found in a re-publication by a reverend divine, verging on his grand climacteric.

That the bearing of the following quotations may be apparent, we state distinctly the charges which we consider they substantiate.

We charge Mr. Hall with speaking most injuriously of the Church of England—we think most calumniously.

We charge him with disingenuously claiming for the Dissenters an attachment to the constitution of England, while he knows that that constitution is, by the law of the land, equally established in church and state; and while he himself tells us that the Dissenters are nearly all agreed in hostility to a church establishment.

We charge on him, that he endeavours to widen and inflame the differences that exist between Churchmen and Dissenters: by flattering and making a common cause with persons whose want of religious principle he must, in his heart, abhor; attached to them only for their hostility to a church, whose principles, on the essentials of Christianity, we think we may defy him to confute.

Before we proceed further, we will quote Mr. Hall's definition of a Dissenter, which will much elucidate the subsequent extracts.

"The religious opinions of Dissenters are so various, that there is perhaps *no point* on which they are agreed, except in asserting the rights of conscience against all human controul and authority." (Apology, p. 71.)

"A disposition to impose their religion on others, cannot be suspected in men, whose *distinguishing religious tenet* is the *disavowal of all human authority*." (P. 72.)

The grotesque form of this body of men, the Dissenters, "if shape it can be called which shape hath none," is very amusing: the quality "of denying all human authority in matters of conscience," forms the sole element of the union, and this the imagination must supply to make the heterogeneous mass cohere. Along this unsubstantial line arrange themselves the sympathizing members of this variegated body—Atheists, Deists, Theophilanthropists,—Unitarians, Arians, and Trinitarians,—Calvinists, and Arminians,—Methodists, and Antinomians. That these cannot form a body of which Jesus Christ is the head, is apparent from their mere names; but they are not thereby prevented from joining in that *very religious* doctrine, "the disavowal of human authority," and are therefore taken by Mr. Hall under his motley banners, as worthy to wage holy war against that corrupt thing an establishment.

Having ascertained what descriptions of partizans and allies this body of men includes, let us see what virtues Mr. Hall ascribes to them—not to some individuals among them (to whom we doubt

not might be properly ascribed the most eminent Christian graces), but to the body constituted as we have seen.

"In the practice of the moral virtues it will hardly be denied that they (the Dissenters) are at least as exemplary as their neighbours, while in the more immediate duties of religion, if *there be any distinction*, it lies in their carrying to a greater height, sentiments of seriousness and devotion." (Apology, p. 68.)

Mr. Hall, in the progress of a few pages, must have had some new light flash upon him, for in p. 75 he says,

"It must likewise be plain to every observer, that piety flourishes much more among the Dissenters, than among the members of any establishment whatever."

"Confiding in the mildness of the times, and conscious that every trace of resentment was vanished from our own breasts, we fondly imagined that those of churchmen were equally replete with sentiments of generosity and candour." (P. 82)

"Encompassed, as Dissenters are, by calumny and reproach, they have still the satisfaction to reflect, that these have usually been the lot of distinguished virtue: and that in the corrupt state of men's interest and passions, the unpopularity of a cause is rather a presumption of its excellence." (P. 86.)

Vox Populi, Vox Dei.

"When the cloud of misrepresentation being scattered, it will be seen they (the Dissenters) are a virtuous and oppressed people, who are treading, though with unequal steps, in the paths of those illustrious prophets, apostles, and martyrs, of whom the world was not worthy. In the mean time they are far from envying the popularity and applause which may be acquired in a contrary course, esteeming the reproaches of freedom, above the splendour of servitude." (P. 87.)

"The enmity of the vicious, is the test of virtue." (P. 83.)

Ergo, the enmity of churchmen proves the virtue of Dissenters.

The following is a good transition passage, as it combines praise of the Dissenters, with calumny of the Church of England.

"Under these circumstances, whatever portion of talents or worth Dissenters may possess, serves only to render them more hated, because more formidable. Had they merely revelled with the wanton, and drunk with the drunken; had they been clothed with curses they might have been honoured and esteemed, notwithstanding, as true sons of the church; but their dissent is a crime too indelible in the eyes of their enemies for any virtue to alleviate or any merit to efface." (P. 80.)

"A splendid establishment will always ultimately debase the clerical character, and perpetuate both in discipline and doctrine every error and abuse." (P. 75.)

"Turn a Christian society into an established church, and it is no



longer a voluntary assembly for the worship of God: (Why not?) It is a powerful corporation, full of such sentiments and passions as usually distinguish such bodies: a dread of innovation; an attachment to abuses; a propensity to tyranny and oppression." (P. 75.)

"Our very language is tinctured with this delusion, in which church and king are blended together with an arrogance that seems copied from Cardinal Wolsey's '*Ego et rex meus*.' (I and my king.) As if the establishment were of more consequence than the sovereign who represents the collective majesty of the state." (P. 76.)

It is strange that Mr. Hall should not be aware that the sentiment of church and king is an allusion to the divine and human government, and that an apostle suggested it, when he said, "Fear God; honour the King."

"The spiritual submission it (the alliance between church and state) exacts is unfavourable to mental vigour, and prepares the way for a servile acquiescence in the encroachments of civil authority." (P. 77.)

"To select and endow a particular order of clergy to teach the duty of submission is useless, as a means to secure the peace of society, though well fitted to produce a slavish subjection."—"They will insensibly become an army of *Spiritual Janisaries*.—Depending, as they every where must, upon the sovereign, his prerogative can never be exalted too high for their emolument, nor can any better instruments be contrived for the accomplishment of arbitrary designs." (P. 78.)

"If we wish to see the true spirit of an hierarchy, we have only to attend to the conduct of what is usually termed the high church party. When they had sufficient influence with the legislature, they impelled it to persecute; and now that a more enlightened spirit has brought that expedient into disgrace, they turn to the people, and endeavour to inflame their minds by the arts of calumny and detraction." (P. 79.)

"From the opposition of the bishops to the repeal of the penal statutes, we learn that they have lost the power, rather than the inclination, to persecute." (P. 79.)

"The truth is, that unwilling to relinquish the right of persecuting, though they have no immediate opportunity of exercising it, they retain these statutes as a body in reserve, ready to be brought into the field on the first occasion that shall offer." (P. 80.)

"The prejudice against us is not the work of a day, but the accumulation of ages, flowing from the fixed antipathy of a numerous and powerful order of men, distributed through all the classes of society: nor is it easy to conceive to what a pitch popular resentment may be inflamed by artful management and contrivance." (P. 80.)

"The clamour of the fanatic rabble, the devout execration of Dissenters, will remind the reader of ecclesiastical history of the excesses of Pagan ferocity, when the people, instigated by their priests, were wont to exclaim, '*Christianos ad leones*.' There is the less hope of this animosity being allayed, from its having arisen from permanent causes." (P. 80.)

"We accordingly ventured on a renewal of our claims as men and

as citizens, but had not proceeded far before we were assailed with the bitterest reproaches. Our enemies let us see that, however languidly the flame of their devotion may burn, that of resentment and party spirit, like *vestal fire*, must never be extinguished in their temples." (P. 82.)

"These beautiful specimens of loyalty, (that is, plundering their neighbours, breaking into oaths and execrations, and rioting) belong to the virtue and moderation of the high church party alone, with whose character they perfectly correspond." (P. 85.)

"On the abuses, (of the church) it is to little purpose to expatiate, as they are too numerous to be detailed, and too inveterate to be corrected. Unless it be a maxim that honesty will endanger her existence, her creeds ought, in all reason, to correspond with the sentiments of her members. The world, it is to be feared, will be little edified by the example of a church, which in compelling its members to subscribe opinions, that few of them believe, is a discipline of fraud." (P. 80.)

As we began this head, so will we end it, with an antidote, which Mr. Hall has kindly furnished, to the virulent matter it contains.

"Were we indeed a religious people, were the traces of Christianity as visible in our lives (Dissenters and all) as they are in our CREEDS and CONFESSIONS, we might derive solid support from the comparison of ourselves with others." (Fast Sermon, p. 28.)

If the Church of England can bear such fruits;—if its creeds and confessions are scriptural enough to afford a solid ground of hope for the divine protection; can all the intermediate matter be true of its members, as such? Whatever bad passions Mr. Hall may have observed afloat among his countrymen, he would do more wisely to trace them to the corruption of human nature, than to a church, one of whose fundamental articles it is, "that nothing is to be required of any Christian man, but what can be proved by certain warrant of holy writ;" and whose members, therefore, must stand condemned, whenever they violate that charity which is the pervading principle of Christianity. Whoever forgets this, be he nominally Churchman or Dissenter, is not of the flock of Christ—not of the true church: and the Church of England is no more answerable for his conduct than Mr. Hall would be should it be imputable to one "who disavows all human authority in matters of religion."

We have yet to prove that Churchmen are not injurious to Dissenters when they charge them with being hostile to the constitution, as by law established; and to do this, it is not necessary to show that they are ill affected to the whole, but that they are to a main branch of the constitution; and for this, Mr. Hall furnishes abundant materials.

P. 72. "They (the Dissenters) begin to discern the impropriety of

all religious establishments whatever; a sentiment in which they are now nearly united."

P. 77. "The steam from that infernal pit (that of intolerance) will issue through the crevices, until they are filled up with the ruins of all human establishments."

P. 100. "True magnanimity would instruct the clergy to recede from a claim (that of tithes) which they will probably be compelled shortly to relinquish. But no reform it seems must take place in the church, any more than in the state, that its corruptions may keep pace with those of its ally."

P. 84. "—— it must be considered as the natural effect of the absurd conduct of the legislature. Exposed to *pains* and *penalties*;\* excluded from all offices of trust; proscribed by the spirit of the present reign;† menaced and insulted wherever they appear; they must be more than men, if they felt no resentment, or were passionately devoted to the ruling powers."

P. 68. "The zeal of the dissenters in opposing Charles I. has been an eternal theme of reproach; but it should be remembered, that when that resistance first took place, the parliament consisted, for the most part, of *churchmen*,‡ and was fully justified in its opposition by the arbitrary measures of the court."

P. 74. "Happy had it been had civil establishments of religion been useless only instead of being productive of the *greatest evils*. But when Christianity is established by law, it is requisite to give the preference to some particular system: and as the magistrate is no better judge of religion than others, the chances are as *great* of his lending his sanction to the false as to the true."

Here the magistrate is spoken of because it aids better the sophistry of the statement, although the magistrate has no more to do with it than the constable. The church is established by the great council of the nation in parliament assembled—by the legislature: and that legislature is always competent to alter that which it has established; and as folly is seldom consistent, Mr. Hall may expect it will do so, if it is no better judge of religion than he maintains it to be.

Mr. Hall holds too much in common with the Church of England to attack it on the ground of essentials; he, therefore,

\* What are they?

† This applies to the reign of George III. Let Mr. Hall say if it is true of that monarch, that he proscribed the Dissenters. If he yields to the dictates of his heart, he will allow that the late reign was, in a remarkable manner, characterized by the progress of liberal opinions, in which the monarch fully shared. To proscribe is to banish, to outlaw, to doom to death, to sequester and seize one's estate. Surely Mr. Hall will feel shame when he tasks his memory in vain for one solitary act of the government or legislature, that would justify his imputing, even in a figurative sense, proscription of the Dissenters at all; how much further is it going to make it the character of the reign!

‡ How is this consistent with an attachment to slaves—a propensity to tyranny and oppression—(p. 75)—servile acquiescence, slavish subjection—(p. 78). Is not this to blow hot and cold with the same breath?

opposes it as an establishment, insinuating that the chances are against it on its own merits, while he knows that every Article of the Church of England was formed with a conscientious reference to the Holy Scriptures, and not without its compilers being ready "to give a reason for the faith that was in them."

Mr. Hall's genius is much greater than his policy, and he seldom fails to be led thereby to furnish an antidote to the mischiefs of his own aberrations: having said all the evil he can divine of an establishment, he thus involuntarily proves its admirable fitness to minister to the best interests of a country.

P. 78. "Their compact and united form, composing a chain of various links, which hangs suspended from the throne, admirably fits them for conveying the impressions that may soothe, inflame, or mislead the people." And so, of course, admirably fits them to lead them in the right way, if the principles of the establishment are sound:—to these we appeal, and this appeal will conduct us to the rock of ages; to the church of the first-born; to pure primitive Christianity. The members of the Church of England who have "searched the Scriptures to see whether these things are so,"—"who prove all things, holding fast that which is good,"—are in no danger of being moved by attacks, whose strength consists in assuming that an establishment must be erroneous on the doctrine of chances: they know what they have believed, and they have experienced consolations in her communion, which only can be the fruits of the Spirit.

Mr. Hall has uttered many hard sayings against the members of the Church of England; simply injurious now, if they were ever applicable:—at least they offend against the golden rule of not repeating old grievances, and tend to excite mutual animosities among those whom it would be rather his duty to exhort to love as brethren. We require to be informed of the practical good that can result from this "woman's war of railing and complaint," and ask him if he thinks these things are done in the spirit of that command that requires us "not to return evil for evil; but, contrariwise, blessing;"—of that spirit which says, "when ye are reviled, curse not;" and "let not the sun go down upon your wrath."

Thirty years is considered the average period of a human generation; and thus Mr. Hall is visiting on the children the sins of their forefathers; and that either because there has not been time enough for his passions to subside, or for the sake of preserving the identity of a pamphlet.

Mr. Hall is too powerful a writer for his errors to be innoxious. We beseech him, therefore, to concede to us any thing he can on the points we have contested. The government, in church and state, is, with all its faults, the best that the world ever saw: and

this consideration is a great encouragement to seek its improvement in a spirit of gratitude and love. As practical statesmen, we may do this, notwithstanding its faults—as patriots we may glory that we possess that which, could we impart it to any other country in the world, with the spirit of the people which has grown up under its fostering influence, would be, we doubt not, in the judgment of Mr. Hall, a blessing. Surely if it be good that a city should have peace within its walls, it is wiser and better to find points of union than of discord; and, if once engaged in the search, few could display them to more advantage than Robert Hall.

Since the above was written, we have seen the reply of Mr. Hall to the Review in the Christian Guardian; and we feel compelled, by the disingenuous manner in which he endeavours to evade the charge of being a false prophet, to express ourselves more at large on that point.

The Reviewer, having noticed the following prediction in p. 88 of the Apology,—“*We have arrived; it is a melancholy truth which can no longer be concealed; we have at length arrived at that crisis, that nothing but speedy and effectual reform can save us from ruin,*” ventures to say, “That the general state of the country is better, and not worse, than at the time when Mr. Hall first published this direful presage.”

Mr. Hall, in a Letter to the Editor of the Leicester Journal, replies to the charge in the following sober and dignified manner:

“I am at a loss to reply in suitable terms to a writer who seems to glory in setting truth at defiance. Let me ask the reader, whether he thinks there is a single person to be found in the nation, who really believes our condition, as a people, is improved in the last thirty years? Where is the improvement to be found? Is it in the augmentation of the national debt to three times its former amount; in the accumulated weight of taxes; in the increase of the poor-rates; in the depression of land to one-half its former value; in the agricultural interest; in the thousands, and tens of thousands, of farmers who are distrained for rent, and they and their families reduced to beggary? Has this writer already forgotten the recent distress of the manufacturing class, who, from the failure of employment, and depression of wages, were plunged into despair, while numbers of them quitted their homes, and sought a precarious and scanty relief by dragging through the country loaded waggons and carts, like beasts of burden? Is it in the rapid and portentous multiplication of crimes, by which our prisons are glutted with malefactors? If these are indications of increasing prosperity, we may justly adopt the language of the Liturgy, from such prosperity ‘good Lord deliver us.’”

Mr. Hall thus tauntingly enumerates the points in which he thinks the country has deteriorated, suppressing all allusion to those in which it has made unparalleled advancement. Nobody

in their senses will look for a direct proof of prosperity in increased debts and charges; but if they are now punctually and honourably met to an amount that would have been impracticable thirty years back, (and Mr. Hall then pledged his "mediocrity of talent," that taxation had reached its limit,) then it is a proof that the resources and wealth of the country have increased in proportion to the charges upon it; and if a real balance of five millions of revenue over the nation's expenditure shall be realized in the current year, it will be a proof that the resources and prospects of the country are improved and improving.

Mr. Hall, with a strange short-sightedness, strives to swell his catalogue of grievances by allusion to the commercial distress, which he admits has passed away; and which fact must suggest the hope, that as the agriculturists are necessary to the country, they will ere long be able to maintain themselves from the produce of the soil they cultivate.

The poor rates are a never-failing topic of declamation with those who, from various causes, are jealous of their country's glory; and on a superficial view they countenance gloomy forebodings much more than they would on a fair investigation.

In the year 1790 they amounted to more than 2½ millions, with wheat at 6s. 4d. per bushel, a population of about 8 millions, and taxes one-third of their present amount. According to recent returns, the poor rates have increased to 8 millions with wheat at 9s. per bushel, a population of nearly 12 millions, and taxes increased as above. Now estimate their positive increase by these data. Take 2½ millions for 8 millions of people and it will require 3¾ millions for 12 millions.

Take wheat at 6s. 4d. per bushel at one period, and 9s. at another, and it will account for an increased expenditure of nearly one half, say from 3¾ to 5½ millions.

Consider that the whole of this population is subject to taxation increased three times in amount, and if the taxes constituted 10% per cent. on the expenditure 30-years ago, they now form 30% per cent., or ⅓th of the whole more than then, and this will increase the amount of poor rates at the present time to 6½ millions, without any relative increase of pauperism.

Next consider the practice which has prevailed in the agricultural districts of paying for labour in poor rate, and it will be admitted that any increase this may have caused will not be a proof that the poor are a greater burden to the country; but that the selfishness of the farmers has led them to abuse a trust to the injury of their labourers, and consequently to their own injury.

Again, let it be borne in mind that during the last thirty years the general humanity of the country has much dilated, and

consequently the condition of paupers has been improved; better workhouses, better food, and better clothing, have been provided: this must have caused an increase of expenditure; but who will say that it is a proof of the deterioration of the country?

Now the two last items will go far to account for the 1½ million of increase; and where is the formidable symptom of the national ruin in the increase of poor rates?

Mr. Hall alludes to what he calls a portentous increase of crimes, which he says has glutted our prisons with malefactors. Does he forget that prisons have no vegetative power whereby they can expand in proportion as they are crammed, and that, however lamentable, it is a general truth that the number of criminals is multiplied by an increase of wealth and population? Does he know that from the days of the benevolent Howard, until very recently, no addition had been made to receive the criminals of a nation doubled in population; and that he pointed out the mischiefs resulting, in his time, from crowded prisons? Is it a period when most extensive and substantial reforms in this obvious cause of the increase of crimes have been effected that Mr. Hall chooses to taunt his country with an evil which they are actively engaged in remedying? A patriot would rather point, exultingly, to the good that had been done as an inducement to perseverance; but Mr. Hall had foretold the ruin of his country, and it is not ruined. The country must not put his pamphlet out of countenance.

The power to pay increased taxes is a proof of increased national wealth. The more liberal provision for the poor is a proof of increased power and liberality; and the cessation of commercial distress is an earnest of the passing away of the agricultural. The progress made in prison discipline, which has effected, in some instances, a diminution in the proportion of criminals recommitted from 20 in the hundred to 3 per cent., is a proof of national improvement; and all this in the teeth of Mr. Hall's pamphlet. England, poor England, has most of all that constitutes wealth—she has most intellect,—literary, scientific, mechanical:—she has most capital,—money, machinery, manufactures, and natural products:—she has most integrity,—look to the low rate of interest of her immense debt:—she has most humanity,—look to her contributions, dispersed like the dew of Heaven, when calamity overtakes her fellow men; look to her sacrifices, pecuniary and commercial, to rescue Europe from the crime, and Africa from the scourge, of the detestable slave trade:—she has most religion—look at the glorious sum of 100,000*l.* voluntarily contributed annually to diffuse the sacred Scriptures:—she has surely her share of military and naval glory,—may she long draw on her rich stores

of renown, and by her equity and moderation still overcome her enemies. She is the freest among the free,—for of America, which alone could rival her, be it remembered that a large part of her population *are slaves*, having no rights, degraded to the level of cattle, and that this is permitted in a federal union of boasted freemen.

England is free, and her freedom has grown with her growth and strengthened with her strength: she is therefore naturally free, and she is more free than she was thirty years ago.

These are our reasons for thinking Mr. Hall ought to take shame to himself for clinging to a false prediction, which Divine Providence has enabled his country to refute. If he still glories in his prophetic foresight, we cannot but designate him as one of those “who glory in their shame.”

ART. XVII.—*A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China (now, in Connexion with the Malay, denominated the Ultra-Ganges Missions), accompanied with miscellaneous Remarks on the Literature, History, and Mythology of China.* By William Milne. Malacca, at the Anglo-Chinese Press, 1820. 8vo. pp. 376.

WE have heard so much of late years of the journals of Roman Catholic Missionaries, and, particularly, thanks to Mr. Southey, of the Jesuits in South America, that we took up, with some interest, the present narrative of a modern Protestant Mission, embracing a sphere of operation at the least as important as the Abipones of a Dobrizhoffer, or any other half-explored border of either hemisphere. We confess, however, that we have been disappointed in the character of much of the information contained in Mr. Milne's volume. It is, in truth, a long, and often a very heavy, detail of the *unimportant* as well as important events which have befallen the Protestant Chinese Missionaries, with their wives and children, during ten years, and might, so far as the public are concerned, be very advantageously condensed into one-fourth or fifth part of its present dimensions. The benevolent author has a most grievous habit of writing dissertations where it was only necessary to relate facts, as well as of relating facts which are often of as little value to the public as some of his dissertations; yet, with these somewhat severe introductory remarks still wet on our paper, we must not fail to



add, what affords some excuse for the tediousness of many of Mr. Milne's details, that his work is intended chiefly for the use of those persons who are, or may be in future, employed in the Ultra-Ganges Missions, to whom much of what is very dry and tame to an ordinary reader, especially in Europe, may be very useful and necessary. It may be well also, as a matter of history, to have this minute account of the early proceedings of an establishment, which, in future ages, may perhaps be referred to as an early germ of Ultra-Ganges Christianity. The unborn historiographers of China, and the Malayan Archipelago, will have to thank Mr. Milne for a narrative, which, though it may now appear disproportionately long and minute, will fill a chasm in their histories, which the antiquaries of Europe would gladly find supplied in our own. With what interest should we now peruse an authentic and detailed account of the first ten, or first hundred years of Christianity in Great Britain: though even in this case we could dispense with some of the particulars which the Ultra-Ganges annalist has thought it necessary to record,—particulars very proper doubtless to be noticed on the minute-books of the mission, or to be discussed as matters of business at the scene of action, but quite unworthy to figure at full length in print for the edification of general society.

To all persons, however, who are interested, either practically or speculatively, in missionary exertions, the present volume will afford much valuable information; and even for readers who have little taste for this species of intelligence, a class with whom we by no means wish to symbolize, Mr. Milne communicates many particulars which deserve their perusal and attention. We could wish, because it would powerfully tend to promote the public interest in religious missions, that missionaries would more generally endeavour to secure a perusal of their publications among persons of general literature, by enriching them with communications of universal interest to the reading part of the community. Much indeed has been done in this way; and we could easily show that geography, history, philology, the science of antiquities, and miscellaneous literature, are under obligations of the very highest class to Christian missionaries; and never more so than at the present moment, when in every quarter of the globe are to be found among the agents of benevolence persons of enlarged and philosophical minds, who have diligently surveyed and reported on the countries they have visited, and added as much to the stock of universal knowledge as to the diffusion of Christian principles. We believe that it is from the purest motives that still more has not been effected in this department; and we can well feel with Mr. Burke, in his panegyric on Howard, how far more sublime is the moral taste

that actuates a faithful agent of benevolence than the gratification of a mere scientific or literary predilection. Still we think, that our missionaries, without in any way debasing their higher tastes, or diminishing their religious usefulness, might devote a share of attention to points of very subordinate importance to them, but which would greatly interest and instruct many readers who do not generally trouble themselves with missionary narratives. No human mind can for many years together profitably devote itself, with close attention, for seventeen or eighteen hours every day, to one given subject; there must be a certain degree of change in its habits of thought; both body and mind require some intervals of relaxation and variety of employment. Without, therefore, any sacrifice as respects his great object, an intelligent and industrious missionary may do much for the promotion of science and the general interests of human nature. Located, perhaps, in a region almost unknown to his countrymen, or the literati of Europe, he may, in his walks and recreations, almost without effort, collect, in the course of years, a variety of important facts in geology, meteorology, botany, and geography; he may amass a fund of thermometrical, barometrical, magnetical, and other scientific observations; he may note the phenomena of winds, and tides, and currents; in short, he may incidentally confer upon science such benefits as will command general attention and respect to his communication. It is superfluous to add how much benefit he may render to man *as man*, and apart from, though not unconnected with, his higher and spiritual destinies, by introducing the arts of civilized life; by naturalizing useful vegetables and animals; by improving the agriculture and rude manufactures of a country; and by convincing both his civilized neighbours at home, and the immediate objects of his benevolent labours, that a missionary, while he is devoted supremely to his immediate vocation as a spiritual instructor, is not necessarily destitute of any taste or quality that can adorn, or ameliorate, or exalt the ordinary condition of humanity.

Mr. Milne begins his work with showing that Christianity is suited to, and intended for, all nations; and proceeds to epitomize the efforts of former ages to diffuse its benefits. He states that the first attempts to extend the Gospel to China were made by the Nestorians, who, from the fifth century, when that sect arose, to the end of the seventh century, penetrated through the various countries eastward of Constantinople, as far as Tartary, where they spread their doctrines and formed Christian societies. They arrived in China about the end of the seventh century, and established churches; from which period little is known of them for nearly five hundred years. In the thirteenth century they are stated by Mosheim to have had a flourishing church in the

North of China, where it still continued to exist in the beginning of the fifteenth century, after Christianity had been nearly extinguished in Tartary. During the course of the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth centuries, Nestorianism is thought to have entirely died away in China.

Mr. Milne states, what appears somewhat remarkable, that though, according to Mosheim and other ecclesiastical historians, Christianity had existed in China, in the Nestorian form, for more than eight hundred years, no authentic Chinese record that our author had been able to discover, notices the circumstance of its introduction, or alludes to the efforts, doctrines, sufferings, or extinction of its votaries; nor, with the exception of one stone tablet, mentioned by some Romish-missionaries, could Mr. Milne learn that any Christian monument, or inscription, or any vestiges of ecclesiastical edifices, had been noticed by any Chinese writer. Besides which, no part of the Nestorian doctrines or ceremonies appears, according to our author, to have mingled with the pagan systems of China. These circumstances are the more singular, as the Chinese writers notice every other foreign sect which has entered their country; and particularly several which prevailed at the very period at which, according to Mosheim and other historians, the Nestorians were a flourishing community in China.

The Church of Rome, which, with all its enormities, has made at different periods truly zealous efforts for the conversion of the heathen, directed its attention in the thirteenth century to this country. An embassy, composed chiefly of ecclesiastics, was sent from Pope Nicholas IV. to the Emperor of the Tartars; their principal object being Tartary; though it is said that they erected some churches also in China. In the year 1307, the Gospel had made such progress in this country, that Pope Clement V. elevated *Cambalu*, which some think means Peking, into an archbishoprick. At the commencement of the seventeenth century, numbers of Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Capuchins, entered China, from which period there were considerable accessions of native converts. Some of the Romish missionaries in this country have been eminent models of zeal, patience, and Christian piety; though unhappily all were not of this character. To the western fictions and fopperies of the Romish church, began to be added many of oriental growth; divisions were introduced into these infant societies, and commissioners were despatched from Rome, armed with pompous powers, to hear and determine controversies, which they only exasperated by their interference; all which circumstances greatly impeded the extension of pure Christianity among the natives.

Of late years the Romish missionaries have been violently

persecuted; they have also melted away in consequence of the modern reverses which have befallen the papal power, and crippled the efforts of the Romish propagandists throughout the world. And, what is still worse, from the wretched policy of withholding the Scriptures from their lay members, they have left no germ behind them to keep up a succession of converts, who, thus deprived both of oral and written instruction, have gradually relapsed into their primitive paganism.

Mr. Milne's second chapter is devoted to a rapid sketch of the history and national character of the Chinese. The following passage will show that our author's estimate is not very high:

"China, notwithstanding the advantages which she has enjoyed from the writings of her sages and the wisdom of her lawgivers, possesses little intellectual and moral excellence—little honourable principle as a nation—little regard to truth; but much fraud and artifice, and contempt of other tribes of men. She possesses, in an astonishing measure, the art of turning all her intercourse with foreigners to her own honour and advantage; while they are made to feel their own insignificance and dependance. Idle displays of majesty and authority must satisfy those nations which seek her alliance; for in vain will they look for truth or respectful treatment. If they can be contented to bow down, and acknowledge that their bread, their water, and their existence are the effects of her bounty; she will not deal unkindly with them. But, woe to that nation which dares presume even to *think* itself equal, or within a thousand degrees of equality—that nation is rude, barbarous, obstinate, and unfilial: not to tear it up root and branch, is a display of forbearance worthy of the Sovereign of the Celestial Empire alone!

"If in her intercourse with foreign countries, China cannot with truth and justice make all things appear honourable to herself, she makes no difficulties about using other means. She discolors narrative—she misquotes statements—she drags forth to the light whatever makes for her own advantage—and industriously seals up in oblivion whatever bears against her. She lies by system; and, right or wrong, must have all to look well on paper." (P. 24, 25.)

The religious codes of China are thus described:—

"Most of the forms of mythology which make any figure in the page of History, now exist in China; except that their indecent appendages and their direct tendency to injure human life, have been cut off. The idolatry of ancient Canaan, of Egypt, of Greece, of Rome, of Chaldea, and of India, are all to be found here, though with some slight variations. China has her Diana, her Æolus, her Ceres, her Esculapius, her Mars, her Mercury, her Neptune, and her Pluto, as well as the western Pagans had. She has gods celestial, terrestrial, and subterraneous—gods of the hills, of the vallies, of the woods, of the districts, of the family, of the shop, and of the kitchen! she adores the gods who are supposed to preside over the thunder, the rain, the fire; over the grain, over births and deaths, and over the

small-pox; she worships 'the host of heaven, the sun, the moon, and the stars.' She also worships the genii of the mountains, rivers, lakes, and seas; together with birds, beasts, and fishes. She addresses prayers and offers sacrifices, to the spirits of departed kings, sages, heroes; and parents whether good or bad. Her idols are silver and gold, wood and stone, and clay; carved, or molten, the work of men's hands. Her altars are on the high hills, in the groves, under the green trees; she has set up her idols at the corners of the streets, on the sides of the high ways, on the banks of canals, in boats, and in ships. Astrology, divination, geomancy, and necromancy, every where prevail. Spells and charms, every one possesses. They are hung about the neck, or stitched up in one's clothes, or tied to the bed-posts, or written on the door; and few men think their persons, children, shops, boats, or goods safe without them. The Emperors of China, her statesmen, her merchants, her people, and her PHILOSOPHERS also, are all idolaters. For, though many of the learned affect to despise the popular superstitions, and to deride all worship, except that paid to the great and visible objects of nature, heaven and the earth; yet their own system is incapable of raising them above that which they affect to condemn; and at the hour of death, finding that some god is necessary, and not knowing the true God, they send for the Priests of false gods, to pray for their restoration to health, and for the rest of their spirits after dissolution, and a happy return to the world again. It is remarkable that the *Yu-keou*, or sect of the learned, though in health they laugh at the fooleries of the more idolatrous sects; yet generally in sickness, in the prospect of death, and at funerals, employ the *HO-CHANG* and *TAOU-SZE*, to offer masses; recite the king;\* write charms; ring bells; chaunt prayers; and entreat the gods. Admitting the influence which universal custom has over them in these things, we may perhaps also conclude that they feel their own system uncomfortable to die with. In that awful hour, when "heart and flesh fail," human beings generally feel the necessity of resorting to some system, either true or false, which professes to afford any hope of escaping, or mitigating, those evils which a consciousness of sin compels them to fear; and of attaining that happiness, the desire of which is identified with our nature." (P. 29—31.)

In the year 1807, the "London Missionary Society," a benevolent institution composed of various denominations of Christians, chiefly of Calvinistic dissenters, sent out the Rev. R. (now Dr.) Morrison as their representative to China. At that period very little was known of the moral and religious state of that vast empire; for though the Roman Catholic missionaries had accumulated a large stock of materials of information, their accounts were too detached and unwieldy to be generally accessible or useful. The immediate object of Mr. Morrison's mission was to study the language, with a view to the translation of the Scrip-

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\* KING, standard books, of a religious and moral kind, thus denominated.

tures, and possibly the compilation of a Chinese dictionary; which was much wanted, not only for missionary, but for political and commercial purposes. In both these objects Dr. Morrison has succeeded even beyond the expectations of his friends. His dictionary has obtained the distinguished patronage and pecuniary assistance of the East India Company, and has received the highest suffrages of oriental scholars both in Europe and in the East. His translation of the New Testament was finished in 1813, since which period it has had a wide circulation, by means chiefly of the intercourse of persons speaking Chinese with Malacca and other places under European authority. The Old Testament has also been completed in Chinese. It is greatly to the credit of the candour of Dr. Morrison and his colleagues, that, as a manual of devotion, he has translated the English Liturgy, professing himself unable to find any other uninspired composition so well adapted for the devotional exercises of his converts.

Our author, who was sent out to Macao as Dr. Morrison's colleague, in 1813, appears to have been deeply impressed with the injurious effects arising from the absence of the forms and ordinances of religion among the British and other Christian residents and visitants in China. He remarks:—

“The Chinese, however opposed to the Gospel themselves, never object to foreigners using the religions of their respective nations, whatever these may be. On the contrary, men who seem to regard no God, and treat with contempt every kind of religion, sink greatly in the estimation of the sober-minded. The foreign commercial establishments in China, are considered the representatives of their several countries; and to leave them totally destitute of religious ordinances, and of public teachers, tends to diminish their national consequence in the eyes of the Chinese; and not, as some have foolishly thought, to lessen the suspicions of that people. Independently, however, of any political consideration, the fact that the several factories are without Christian ordinances, and that there are several thousands of foreigners, English, Americans, &c. professing the Gospel, for three or four months annually, during the time the ships are in China, entirely destitute of Christian instruction, will not be viewed as a light matter by the friends of truth, morality, and religion. The effect of those instructions which our countrymen receive from their respective clergymen and pastors at home, is often lost in the contaminations which reign around them while abroad; and many of them die in China without any one to administer salutary instruction and consolation in their last moments! It is earnestly to be wished that the different Christian nations which trade at Canton, particularly England and America, from which the greatest number of persons annually come, would seriously consider this, and speedily adopt suitable means for the removal of so great an evil.” (P. 107, 108.)

We would extend our author's remark to every country and city in the world where a British consul, resident, or other official agent is acknowledged. In many considerable towns, even in Europe, with which we have frequent intercourse, and where many subjects of this realm are always to be found, the natives are left to infer either that we have no religion at all, or that we are ashamed of it; or, at least, that we think it a subject of too slight importance to introduce it as an ordinary want and craving of the national appetite. The effect is deeply injurious even to the mother country itself; for the absence of religious worship and Christian pastors in so many parts of the world with which we have constant intercourse, imparts a sceptical and irreligious cast to the minds of tens of thousands, we might say millions, of our fellow-subjects, who, on their return home, import with them that indifference to religion, and that hostility to the salutary rules of an established church and the duties of the Christian Sabbath, which they had acquired in the scenes of their emigration. In some instances it is even stated that funds, appropriated by the British Parliament expressly for the maintenance of religious worship in places of diplomatic or commercial residency, have been gradually allowed to flow in the merely secular channels of official dignity. We are not very forward to propose, in this intermeddling age, new subjects of parliamentary inquisition; yet we cannot but think that it would form an interesting and beneficial topic of inquiry, what provision is made by the public for the maintenance of our national worship in every part of the world where a British representative is stationed; and in what way, where funds are voted for that purpose, they are appropriated; and whether any practicable measures can be devised for extending the religious benefits of a Christian and Protestant community to other places where our countrymen are at present destitute of this inestimable advantage.

As the state of China renders prints and other missionary avocations difficult and precarious, Mr. Milne informs us, that it was determined by the friends and members of the Ultra-Ganges mission to make Malacca their principal station. Since this project was carried into execution, other missionaries have arrived at that place; and an establishment has been formed, entitled, "The Anglo-Chinese College;" where various publications, Chinese, Malay, and English, have been prepared, printed, and widely circulated; and among others, a periodical work, "The Indo-Chinese Gleaner," which contains a considerable portion of oriental information.

We pass by the affairs of the mission, to extract some of Mr. Milne's remarks on Chinese printing, the details of which may probably be unknown to most of our readers.

"The Chinese have three methods of printing. The first invented, and that which almost universally prevails, is called '*Moh-pan*, or *wooden plates*.' It is a species of stercotype, and answers all the ends thereof, as the letters do not require to be distributed and re-composed; but, being once clearly cut, they remain, till either the block be destroyed, or till the characters be so worn down by the ink-brush, as to be illegible."

"The second is called *Lāh-pān*, i. e. '*wax plates*,' and consists in spreading a coat of wax on a wooden frame, after which, with a graving tool, they cut the characters thereon. This method is rarely adopted, except in cases of haste and urgency; and it differs from the former only in the kind of plate on which the words are engraved. This sort of printing I have not seen practised by the Chinese, nor observed it noticed in any book. The printers employed at Malacca, say that when an urgent affair occurs, a number of workmen are called in, and a small slip of wood, with space for one, two, or more lines, is given to each, which they cut with great expedition, and when all is finished, join together by small wooden pins; by this means a page, or a sheet, is got up very speedily, like an Extra Gazette in an English printing office. This method they say, is, from its expeditiousness, called *Lah-pān*, and they know nothing of the other."

"The third is denominated *Hwō-pān*, i. e. '*living plates*,' so called from the circumstance of the characters being single, and moveable, as the types used in European printing. *Kang-hc*, in 1722, had a great number of these moveable types made of copper; whether cut, or cast, it is not said. The Chinese are not however entirely ignorant of casting, though they do not use it to any extent. The Imperial seals on the Calendar, are cast with the Chinese character on one half of the face, and the Manchow Tartar on the other. Copper vessels used in the temples, and bells, have frequently ancient characters, and inscriptions, cast with them. Whether they have ever attempted to cast single characters, or to frame matrices, similar to those which are used in casting types for alphabetic languages, does not appear. These *Hwō-pān*, or moveable types, are commonly made of wood. The Canton daily paper, called *Yuen-mun-pao*, (i. e. A report from the outer gate of the palace,) containing about 500 words, or monosyllables, is printed with these wooden types; but in so clumsy a manner as to be scarcely legible."

"At Macao, in the Missionary department of the College of St. Joseph, I have seen several large cases full of this description of type, with which they print such Roman Catholic books as are wanted for the Missions. In the Anglo-Chinese College Library at Malacca, there is a *Life of the Blessed Virgin* in two, and the *Lives of the Saints* in twenty-six, volumes, 18mo. printed with the wooden type, at the College of St. Joseph; but all that can be said of the printing is, that it is barely legible—a vast difference between it and the other Catholic books, which were executed in the common way,—those of them that were cut at Peking in blocks, are elegantly printed. On asking the priests at St. Joseph's the reason why they used the moveable type, seeing it was so much inferior in beauty to the other



method, they answered that the persecution in China had obliged them to adopt this method, as blocks were more cumbersome, and not so easily carried off, or hidden, in cases where the Missionaries were obliged to flee, or where they expected a search to be made by the Mandarins. The copper types look better on the paper than the wooden ones; but the impression is inferior in beauty to that from moderately well executed blocks. A history of the *Loo-choo* Islands, in 4 vols. octavo, compiled by the authority of *Keen-lung*, was printed with copper types; and may be given as an instance of this inferiority, though its execution is by no means bad. The Chinese have no press; but whether the forms are of wooden blocks, waxen plates, or moveable types, they have the same method of printing, or casting off; that is, by means of a dry brush rubbed over the sheet.

“The Chinese have six different kinds, or rather six different forms, of the character, each of which has its appropriate name; and all of which are occasionally used in printing. That which, like our *Roman*, prevails most generally is called *Sung-te*. To write this form of the character, is of itself an employment in China. There are men who learn it purposely, and devote themselves entirely to the labor of transcribing for the press. Few of the learned can write it: indeed they rather think it below them to do the work of a mere transcriber. With respect to moveable types, the body of the type being prepared, the character is written *inverted*, on the top: this is a more difficult work than to write for blocks. After this, the type is fixed in a mortise, by means of two small pieces of wood, joined together by a wedge, and then engraved; after which it is taken out, and the face lightly drawn across a whetstone, to take off any rough edge that the carving instrument may have left.

“The process of preparing for and printing with the blocks, or in the stereotype way, is as follows. The block, or wooden plate, ought to be of the *Lee* or *Tsau* tree, which they describe thus:—‘The *Lee* and *Tsau* are of a fine grain, hard, oily, and shining; of a sourish taste, and what vermin do not soon touch; hence used in printing.’ The plate is first squared to the size of pages, with the margin at top and bottom; and is in thickness generally about half an inch. They then smooth it on both sides with a joiner’s plane; each side contains two pages, or rather indeed but one page according to the Chinese method of reckoning; for they number the *leaves*, not the pages of a book. The surface is then rubbed over with rice, boiled to a paste, or some glutinous substance, which fills up any little indentments, not taken out by the plane; and softens and moistens the face of the board, so that it more easily receives the impression of the character.

“The transcriber’s work is, first to ascertain the exact size of the page, the number of lines, and of characters in each line; and then to make what they call a *Kih*, or form of lines, horizontal and perpendicular, crossing each other at right angles, and thus leaving a small square for each character—the squares for the same sort of character, are all of equal size, whether the letter be complicated as to strokes, or simple: a letter or character with fifty strokes of the pencil, has no larger space assigned to it than one with barely a single

stroke. This makes the page regular and uniform in its appearance, though rather crowded, where many complicated characters follow each other in the same part of the line. The margin is commonly at the top of the page, though not always so.—Marginal notes are written, as with us, in a smaller letter. This form of lines, being regularly drawn out, is sent to the printer, who cuts out all the squares, leaving the lines prominent; and then prints off as many sheets, commonly in *red ink*, as are wanted. The transcriber then with black ink, writes in the squares from his copy; fills up the sheet; points it; and sends it to the block cutter, who, before the glutinous matter is dried up from the board, puts the sheet on *inverted*, rubs it with a brush and with his hand, till it sticks very close to the board. He next sets the board in the sun, or before the fire, for a little, after which he rubs off the sheet entirely with his fingers; but not before a clear impression of each character has been communicated. The graving tools are then employed, and all the white part of the board is cut out, while the black, which shews the character, is carefully left. The block being cut, with edged tools of various kinds, the process of printing follows. The block is laid on a table; and a brush made of hair, being dipped in ink, is lightly drawn over the face. The sheets being already prepared, each one is laid on the block, and gently pressed down by the rubbing of a kind of brush, made of the hair of the Tsung tree. The sheet is then thrown off; one man will throw off 2,000 copies in a day. Chinese paper is very thin, and not generally printed on both sides, though in some particular cases that is also done. In binding, the Chinese fold up the sheet, turning inward that side on which there is no impression. On the middle of the sheet, just where it is folded, the title of the book, the number of the leaves, and of the sections, and also sometimes the subject treated of, are printed, the same as in European books, except that in the latter, they are at the top of the page, whereas here, they are on the front-edge of the leaf; and generally cut so exactly on the place where it is folded that in turning the leaves, one sees one half of each character, on one side, and the other half, on the other. The number of sheets destined to constitute the volume, being laid down and pressed between two boards, on the upper one of which a heavy stone is laid, are then covered with a sort of coarse paper—not with boards as in Europe; the back is then cut, after which the volume is stitched, not in our way, but through the whole volume at once, from side to side, a hole having been previously made through it with a small pointed iron instrument. The top and bottom are then cut, and thus the whole process of Chinese type-cutting, printing, and binding, is finished.” (P. 223—228.)

Our author enters into a long argument respecting the advantages and disadvantages of the Chinese method of printing—namely, by means of blocks, like our engravings on wood—as contrasted with the European, and gives the preference very decidedly to the former. Some of his arguments appear to us quite inconclusive. He remarks, for example, that Chinese

block-printing "possesses all the advantages of European stereotype, except two—*durability of the block*, and the combining of several pages in a large *form* for printing." Now the first of these exceptions is the very point which constitutes the chief utility of stereotype-printing, and to be deficient in this, is at once to concede the superiority. We of course concur with Mr. Milne, in admitting the difficulty of applying the European method of printing by moveable types to a language of hieroglyphics, in which there is no regular alphabet, and where, perhaps, forty thousand characters would be necessary. But we are by no means convinced that the obstacle is insuperable. It is true, indeed, that no missionary society, or individual type-founder, could undertake the expense and risk of preparing forty thousand matrices, from which not a single fount of types might ever be disposed of. But if by the public spirit of the government, or of some opulent body of individuals, such a set of matrices were once prepared, from which founts might be cast at a very moderate expense for every part of the empire, and every place where Chinese is written or spoken; we are inclined to think that the uniformity, correctness, and superior beauty of workmanship of such characters above those of wooden blocks, would in time bring them into use. There would indeed be many difficulties in composing from such a multitude of characters, which it is not necessary to detail; but a few years' experience and practice would doubtless enable a compositor so far at least to overcome them as to set up his types with incredibly greater rapidity than a wood-cutter engraver could form his blocks, the best workman being able to cut only about 150 letters in a day. The types when done with could be distributed, and would be ready for any other work; the press might also be easily corrected, which at present can only be done by a laborious process, the workman cutting out the wrong character from his block, fitting in a slip of wood in its place, and cutting the right character upon it. If there be a letter to be expunged, he cuts out not only the delinquent, but its two neighbours on both sides, inserts a new slip of wood, and engraves four characters in the place of the five. If several words, or a line, or more, are omitted, the same process is adopted, and the corrected text inserted in a smaller type, so as to crowd the whole into the necessary space. Mr. Milne thinks that though the appearance of the page is "a little injured thereby," it is of no consequence, so long as the legibility and usefulness of the book are preserved; but we make no doubt, that if cast types were once generally adopted, the eye of the Chinese would become as fastidious as that of Europeans, in its demand for uniformity; and that the art would be greatly improved. Perhaps, however,

in the present state of the Chinese language, the greatest immediate improvement in printing would be, by means of the lithographic press; an invention which, as far as we know, has not yet been introduced into that country. We strongly recommend Mr. Milne, and other gentlemen connected with Chinese printing, to make a trial of its powers, which we think would be far more advantageously applicable to Chinese printing than to any other branch of art to which they have been hitherto applied.

But, after every improvement in printing, the present mode of conveying language by short hand pictures instead of alphabetical letters, will always present an obstacle of formidable magnitude to the wide and rapid diffusion of knowledge in the Chinese tongue. It would probably be an achievement quite impracticable, to publish, for example, one of our daily London newspapers in China. But one finisher we presume could work at one block, and supposing there were several engravers assisting him, each with his one hundred and fifty characters per day, they must be several days in giving to the public a single debate in parliament; which, in London, is on our breakfast tables sometimes before the debaters can have well retired to rest after their labours. If China is ever to vie with Europe, in the wide and rapid diffusion of literature, it must be by the adoption of an alphabetical method of writing, instead of her present cumbersome system. The whole civilized world may, perhaps, in the course of a few centuries, realize the dream of an universal character, if not an universal language. The Roman alphabet, so long the standard of the greater part of Europe, has already, by means of colonization and commerce, become familiar throughout the world. England, in particular, has not only conveyed it westward, together with her language, into the vast regions of North America, and given it also to many savage nations where no written sign had before existed, but is extending its conquests in every part of the East; and, if Dr. Gilchrist's system continue to advance with its present progress, we may expect that, in time, not only will Europeans write the oriental languages in the Roman character, but that the natives themselves will imitate the practice of their conquerors. Possibly even of China itself, hostile as that country is to innovation, may gradually adopt this widely diffused character, though not probably till long after its old hieroglyphics shall have ceased to be used any where but within the precincts of the celestial empire. We certainly retain some classical feelings which forbid our viewing with unmingled satisfaction the innovation which commercial habits, and modern contrivances for shortening labour, are working on the oriental alphabets, which we have

been so long accustomed to identify with the languages whose sounds they represent. We never take up, for example, any of the modern race of oriental books now so frequently published in the Roman character, without feeling somewhat outraged at the innovation, and recoiling as from the Greek quotations in some of the editions of Matthew Henry's Bible and other works, in which a similar practice is adapted, to the great annoyance of the scholar, and with no conceivable benefit to the English reader. We are willing, however, to confess—what by the way might have settled some warm recent disputes on the very subject we have just alluded to—that the requirements of commerce, and the elegances of literature, are of a very different character. We believe that Dr. Gilchrist, for example, may be quite right in opening his easy way to the oriental languages, to young men who have no opportunity or desire to attain more than a competent colloquial or business-like acquaintance with them; while we think the East-India Company's colleges are equally right in viewing the question in a more classical and scholastic manner, and studying not so much how a youth can obtain the quickest “knack” of speaking and reading an oriental tongue, as how he may be most deeply and maturely grounded in all its native peculiarities.

But we must return to our author, whose plans, and those of his worthy colleagues, for Christianizing the vast tracts eastward of India, we earnestly wish may be crowned with abundant success. Their sphere of action embraces the various nations and islands commencing with Burmah, proceeding westward along the continent to the isles of Japan, including the Malayan Archipelago, and the vast groups of islands lying between Pulo Penang and Corca. These scenes comprise some of the most populous countries in the world, and contain, perhaps, a third of the human race. Many of the tribes in the interior of the islands are in the lowest stages of barbarism; from these the gradation is minutely marked, up to the highest ranks of native oriental culture and civilization. All, however, except a few tracts where Christianity has penetrated, are sunk in Mohammedan or Pagan superstition; and loudly demand the benevolent energies of European Christians to promote their political, moral, and, above all, their spiritual and eternal welfare.

ART. XVIII.—*Sermons on the Christian Character, with Occasional Discourses, by the Rev. C. J. Hoare, A. M. Rector of Godstone; and late Vicar of Blandford Forum. Hatchard. London, 1821.*

It is not often that sermons come under our critical cognisance. We feel a tenderness in touching them: Orthodox and evangelical discourses, however written, are entitled to their benefit of clergy against any sentence of profane criticism. Never shall their operation be impeded or weakened by one word of disapprobation from us, where, whatever may be their defects of diction or execution, they faithfully promulgate the word of God, and inculcate lessons which, however trite in form and expression, are grounded upon the warrant of scripture and the testimony of the conscience. It is moreover not easy to calculate in any particular case how the heart is to be best approached, or what mode of exhibiting a spiritual truth may happen, from certain associations, to find the readiest way to the conviction of the person appealed to; still less within our knowledge is it to foresee to what efforts, he, "without whom nothing is strong," will vouchsafe his effectual though secret support. These considerations secure from the grasp of our criticism the exertions of mediocrity, in a department wherein to endeavour sincerely is to do well, and wherein that which gains no laurel here, may gain a crown hereafter. The productions of a higher sort in this branch of composition are seldom those which furnish the matter of a critical journal. The great truths and doctrines of religion are not to be approached in a light and careless way; nor do they seem to be in their appropriate place when inserted amidst a medley of secular or profane topics, or made to float down the stream of ephemeral interest with those comparatively idle products of intellect which begin and end with this perishing scene of mortality. We have said thus much partly to excuse the infrequency of articles in our journal on this description of publication, but more particularly to mark the distinction with which we wish to be considered as treating the singularly useful and able discourses which now lie upon our table, and which take us out of our usual course by an imperious attraction.

Of the progress of religion in the soul—of its necessary and characteristic operation upon the temper and habits—of its spiritual elevation of the heart towards God—its subduing influences on the "lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life;" of its great and vital peculiarities; the fallen state of man; and his desperate condition without the Saviour; of these instructive views of internal Christianity, the divinity-shelves of our libraries display no want. Neither is there any scarcity of vo-

lumes illustrative of the practical morality furnished by the example and precepts of the Divine Founder of our faith; but we seemed to want just such a book as is here presented to us, in which the conduct specifically to be observed by the consistent Christian in the particular situations and relations in which he must exhibit himself to the world, so as to preserve an uniform correspondence with his professions, and, if we may be allowed the allusion, to keep his parallelism with himself in all parts of his orbit, is determinately marked out and prescribed. Man's whole duty, and the serious call which his Christian profession makes upon him, have been the subjects of many excellent volumes; but the defect we remark in them is this: they bring the Christian scheme at once into conflict and collision with all the gaieties and fascinations of life, and put them at once and altogether under the ban of an austere and inexorable interdict: the heart droops, the resolution falters, a gloom overspreads the spirits; heaven appears to frown upon human happiness, and to delight in the mortification and sorrow of the creature: but if Christ's religion is placed before us as a religion of love, if we are made sensible of the sanctity and serenity which it introduces into our duties and exertions, correcting and purifying all the purposes and propensities of the heart, shaping our delights, so as to point them towards God and eternity, rendering sensuality distasteful, multiplying innocent and holy joys, facilitating self-conquest, attenuating care, disarming disappointment, and taking out the sting from the vexations that hourly torment us; we are then on a principle of calculation convinced how greatly we are gaining every way by following Christ and forsaking what he forbids; it is then that we understand the saying, that "his yoke is easy and his burthen is light." To take the Christian by the hand, and lead him by the lamp of the gospel through the labyrinths of life and its multifarious duties and relations, so often perplexing to the conscience; to shew him the method by which his sacred obligations are to be reconciled with his temporal business and social duties; to teach him how to bring religion home to his business and bosom, and to make it transpire through all his actions, is the most difficult, and, if the word may be applied to such a subject, the most delicate function of the Christian instructor; and this we think Mr. Hoare, the author of the sermons before us, has done.

It is not for us to eulogize a clergyman for having done his duty affectionately, zealously, and faithfully, in his parish. It was the least he could do after taking upon him the high commission; and woe to the spiritual deserter of his colours in the present predicament of the church militant of Christ. But we think it only justice to say that these sermons bear all the marks

of having been written by one who felt every line as he wrote it inscribed on the "table of his own heart." The occasion of the publication was, as it appears by the prefatory address prefixed to it, the dissolution of the connexion which had subsisted between the parishioners of Blandford, in Dorsetshire, and Mr. Hoare, as their pastor for fourteen years; the pain resulting from which separation is pleasingly and touchingly expressed. The address carries in it a strong internal evidence of sincerity. One can have no doubt in reading it, even without a knowledge of the author, that his parishioners must have largely participated in his feelings of regret. He has left them, however, a valuable legacy—a vested capital from which they may draw at pleasure without diminishing the fund; a reservoir which, unlike other reservoirs, will perpetuate its supply, even after the fountain shall be dried up: for the waters of this well are living waters, and contain the principle of eternity in themselves. We cannot indulge ourselves in laying much before our readers in the way of specimens, our room being very contracted by the quantity of other matter devoted to this Number of our Review; but we consider the short sketch of Christianity given by the author in his preface as so remarkably correct and edifying, that we should think it a breach of duty to pass it-by.

"In order to be saved by Christianity, it is necessary we should duly understand what Christianity is. If we imagine it a mere set of moral precepts, a law to be observed, and a proportionate reward to be obtained at last; we virtually re-establish a law of works; by which, it is expressly declared, as the very foundation of Christianity, that 'no flesh can be justified.' If, on the other hand, we regard it as a mere exemption from the law of works, on a supposed plea of faith; or, a hope of pardon, on the condition of *sincere*, instead of *perfect* obedience: then we each become the judge of our own sincerity! we indulge a hope of pardon on most uncertain grounds; we may still love the sin we partially forsake, and loathe the righteousness we partially practise; and, in truth, render the gospel of Christ the means of encouragement in a negligent and worldly practice. Against both these errors it has been my object, as I believe it to be the end of true Christianity, to guard you.

"Christianity, we must consider, is intended to furnish an adequate remedy for the existing disorder of human nature. That disorder consists in a departure from our original righteousness; an inclination, of our own nature, to evil; and, by consequence, an exposure to the wrath and displeasure of God. The remedy for this must be, to restore us by other means, than our own merits, to the favour of God which we have forfeited; and, at the same time, to lead us back to the very paths of righteousness which we have forsaken. Every thing short of this must be regarded as inapplicable, or inadequate to our need; and, therefore, not as the language of true Christianity. To the



guilty it were inapplicable, to propound a law by obedience to which they should procure their *own* justification before God: and to the depraved it were inadequate, to offer precepts of righteousness, by which they should be directed to any thing less than faith, and a law of their *original* purity. The law of Christianity is, at once, a law of faith and a law of holiness;—of faith, by remitting us, for our justification before God, to the merits of *another*, even of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ;—and of holiness, by exhibiting to us a *perfect* transcript, both by precept and example, of the holiness we have lost. It does more than merely exhibit to us such a transcript. It directs us to effectual methods, by which we are enabled again to aspire after its resemblance. Weak, it offers us the means of spiritual strength; and dead, as we may be represented to be, in trespasses and sins, it furnishes the means of life and peace, through the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit.

“Christianity viewed in this light admits, indeed, of no reliance upon *ourselves* either for the attainment of pardon, or for the practice of righteousness. But yet it must be considered, as leaving no ground for fear to the truly penitent and awakened sinner: whilst it offers no encouragement to those, who seek the gratification of their evil inclinations. To every alarm of the humbled and awakened conscience it replies, by representing the fulness of the atoning Sacrifice for sin: but to every rising inclination to indulge sinful desires, or sinful practices, it replies, by pointing to the purity of the divine law, and the fulness of divine grace. The wilful sinner finds no refuge whatsoever in the code of pure Christianity. The self-deceiver is driven from every strong hold; the careless, roused from every lulling consideration; and no security is offered to any, but in a submission to the humbling and purifying doctrines of the cross of Christ.” (Address, p. x—xii.)

After the above specimen of this author's manner, perhaps few of our readers will be reluctant to be led by the hand of this minister of God through every part of the Christian's walk, and to learn from him, first, what the name and profession of a Christian imply: Secondly, how he is to commune with his own heart, to examine and purify his thoughts, and to direct them upwards to God and his Saviour: Thirdly, how he is to regulate and direct his household: Fourthly, in what manner he is to prepare, exercise, and demean himself in his public devotions, as a genuine and cordial member of Christ's church: Fifthly, his proper carriage in his intercourse with the world, and in the discharge of his secular duties: and, Lastly, how to prepare for, and receive, the messenger that will summon him from the scene of his trials and his labours, to tread that last dark passage which opens into the realms of glory, where his faith and his hope, and his holy strivings, are to be absorbed in light and victory, and joy everlasting. This is the course in which this amiable and faithful pastor still invites and encourages his former parishioners to persist, with a power of persuasion which few, if any, of his

fellow labourers in Christ's vineyard possess in a superior degree. Others may write with the same talents; but the spirit of "servent charity" is to be found in no compositions of the same kind that we know of more genuinely and characteristically expressed.

The sermons which exhibit the various phases (if we may so say) of the Christian character in its practical progress through life, are seven in number. The Christian in his Home—the Christian in his Closet—the Christian in his Family—the Christian in his Church—the Christian in the World—(which subject is followed out through three successive discourses)—and the Christian in Death. These are succeeded by six other occasional discourses,—on the Season of Advent—the Season of Lent—Good Friday—Easter day—Whitsunday—and the New Year. We wish we could afford an extract as a specimen of the author on each of these blessed topics, thereby to assist and forward his benevolent and spiritual intentions; and, indeed, we should feel ourselves in a manner called upon so to do, were we not in great hopes that this little comprehensive volume will become a manual in every family where there is a serious wish in the head of it to draw down upon it the peace of heaven, and to make the Saviour his secret guest. To attract more particularly the attention of the person filling the responsible station last alluded to, we will lay before him what we think cannot but reach his heart, and awaken in him a peculiar sensibility to the holy charge for which he is responsible to God and man.

"But these sentiments will further and fully appear in what I secondly propose to consider, namely, the careful cultivation of family devotion. The principles of the Christian will always break forth beyond the narrow limits of his own heart into corresponding acts. His acknowledgements, therefore, of the Supreme authority of the God of his fathers, will necessarily lead him to make such arrangements, as will best qualify and dispose his household to acknowledge the same God, and to offer Him an united worship and service. This he will endeavour to accomplish in many ways.

"By the exercise of a wise selection and a due authority in his household. Abraham, in the passage already quoted, was said to have "commanded his children, and his household after him, to keep the ways of the Lord." David also, in the Psalm before referred to, is still more explicit in his resolution on the subject. He wisely determines, as far as possible, to select none for his inmates but those, who will neither offend himself, nor injure others, by an ungodly life or corrupt conversation. "Mine eyes," saith he, "shall be upon the faithful of the land, that they may dwell with me: he that walketh in a perfect way, he shall serve me. He that worketh deceit shall not dwell within my house: he that telleth lies shall not tarry in my sight." Those who would desire to have all "of one mind in an house" for the best purposes, must follow the example of David;

must study to remove that "evil communication," which "corrupts good manners;" and regard no services as well purchased, by an allowance of the open and known practice of sin in any member of the household. "I will not know a wicked person."

"But to this must be added, further, active measures of *authoritative instruction and mutual admonition*. As by these means the very worst may, through God's grace, become the best; so without them the best may gradually become the worst. Either to make, or to keep good the human heart, is an effort indeed far beyond mere human power. But the Christian householder will never imagine that he has done his part towards it, till he has fully and plainly set before his children and dependents the great truths of the gospel; and represented to them the strong grounds of moral and religious conduct, to be found in the gospel of Jesus Christ. From such seed, under the divine blessing, the fair fruit of moral culture may, both in reason, and in faith, be devoutly hoped. But without this what *must* we expect? Would that the complaints too frequently heard around us of disobedient children, of dishonest, idle and dissolute servants did not furnish an answer to the question. My brethren, if these complaints arise, where the great duty of family instruction has been wholly neglected, or even imperfectly or carelessly performed, does not the unanswerable appeal of conscience at once teach us to take the whole blame to ourselves? and might it not be justly said that these persons have not learned their duty to parents and masters, only because we had not first taught them their duty to God? The wise Christian will not choose, at least, to have their guilt lying upon his soul, and finally required at his hands. He will deal out the bread of life to his household with the same conscientious care, with which he gives to each his portion of bodily meat in due season. He will teach them to reverence that sacred and invaluable code, which includes the duty of children, and domestics, as well as of elders and superiors; which enforces sobriety, docility, honesty, industry; which teaches us, in fine, "in all our ways to acknowledge God," and then promises, that "He will direct our paths." (P. 49—51.)

"But I must here more particularly advert to a practice, without which family devotion would be most imperfectly attained, even after the best precautions of every other kind; nay, which may be truly considered as first and last in the arrangements of the Christian family; and that is, *family prayer*. This is indeed the most fit, as it is the only stated, occasion on which the Christian will have to acknowledge God in his family: and this is the proper opportunity for diffusing religious instruction through his house. As we have here a subject of very great moment, and, through a too frequent neglect in these days, calling for the most serious admonition, permit me, my brethren, to premise my observations on the Christian's conduct in this respect, with one remark of general application. It is this; that, should the practice of assembling the members of our household night and morning, for the purpose of social worship and hearing the word of God, be felt a duty, it affords no good reason whatever against pursuing it, that it is not the fashion to do so; that you might appear sin-

gular in attempting it; or that it might interfere with other domestic arrangements. Beyond a question, such arrangements might very soon, and very conveniently, be made to bend to this object: and it is a fact, that no families are so well ordered as those, which begin and end the day with family power. A family without prayer has been well compared to 'a garment without hem or selvaige.' That such a practice should be singular in an age, or in a world where no settled principle exists to act for the honor of God, and the true benefit of our fellow creatures, would be by no means wonderful. And to decline the charge of singularity, did it really fall upon us for acting up to the dictates of plain duty, were the part only of cowardice, and of a double mind. But I must go further, and deny that it is singular at all amongst those, whose example, or whose opinion in subjects of religious practice, are of any weight. So far from this being the case, I would boldly say, on the other hand, that, amongst persons duly aware of the importance of personal religion, feeling for the souls of their relations and inmates as for their own, and regarding all as fellow-heirs with themselves of life eternal, the neglect of family prayer were indeed the highest and most unwarrantable singularity. The great Archbishop Tillotson has strongly remarked; 'The setting up of the constant worship of God in our families is so necessary to the keeping up of religion, that where it is neglected, I do not see how any family can in reason be esteemed a family of Christians, or indeed to have any religion at all.' One greater than any uninspired teacher has told us with equal clearness, and still greater authority: 'Thou shalt teach' these things 'diligently to thy children, and shalt talk of them, when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and upon thy gates.' Nay shall I say it? the very heathens themselves were not ashamed to own their household Gods, and to offer them a customary tribute around the family hearth; thus guarding, as they thought, their houses and their households from harm; and paying a homage, which some persons, calling themselves Christians, would now deem a *singular* offering to the 'God of all the families of the earth.' (P. 52—54.)

We have long thought that scarcely any part of the conduct of a professed Christian calls more upon the faithful minister than his exterior behaviour in the house of God. A careless deportment during the service, and especially a sitting posture during the prayers, and a variety of other vanities, levities, and indecencies, that denote the absence of that sober spirit of worship and of that holy fear, without which a Christian's service is neither graceful nor edifying, are treated in the fourth sermon with great impressiveness of language and piety of sentiment. In the hope of making it felt by some who have hitherto treated this subject with too much unconcern, from not considering enough how much a consistency and constancy of feeling is kept up by a sort of devotional harmony between the inner and the outer

man, and how much a certain characteristic manner, at once unaffected and undissembled, aids the devotion of others, and propagates the sentiment of piety, we shall produce one extract from the fourth discourse, exhibiting the Christian in his church.

"The Christian will stedfastly attend on the services and rites of his Church. I have already observed, that, under the general expressions of the text, we may aptly comprize the whole circle of Apostolical Services. Public Prayer, the preaching of the Word, and the administration of the holy Sacraments, more especially of that blessed Sacrament, dear to every faithful believer, which 'shews the Lord's death' by the act of 'breaking bread,' and drinking wine;—these, my brethren, form the main business of the Christian in Communion with the Church; these are his points of most familiar, and most delighted contact with her; these are the rich reward, which is all he claims, for his stedfast attachment to her cause; these teach him to view her, as the channel of intercourse with the Great Father of Spirits, the very pledge and testimony of the Divine Presence upon earth, the surest token to returning sinners of a reconciled and gracious God. In the services of his Church, he views the mercies of his God. In complying with the invitation to sacred worship, he considers less the act of obedience to his Church, than the feast she spreads for his refreshment, the wealth she opens to his view. The very building, in which these stores are opened before him on every returning Sabbath, is incalculably precious in his eyes. He views it, might I say so? as the mystic, "banqueting-house" of his "beloved" Saviour, over which "the banner is love." Or he describes it, as Jacob did, the place of his vision by night: "This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of Heaven." More especially, the Christian marks his attendance on the public services of his Church, by a due preparation of spirit for their performance—an uniform and consistent use of all such sacred occasions—an abiding spiritual impression after the solemnity.

"As a *preparation* for the prayers and services of his Church, the Christian adopts the caution of the Wise Man: "Keep thy foot, when thou goest to the house of God." He considers before hand, to what place he is going, whose work he is undertaking, into whose presence he is entering. He remembers the command given to Moses, and again to Joshua, when they were standing in the Divine Presence; "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground:"—a caution, conveying to his mind, that he should tread in silence, and with care and deliberation, the very ground on which the most High God condescends to meet His creatures. He applies to himself the further injunction of the Wise man: "Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thine heart be hasty to utter any thing before God; for God is in heaven, and thou upon earth: therefore let thy words be few."—The Christian studies, now more especially, than ever, to "keep his heart with all his diligence." His inmost thoughts, those "feet" of the soul, he desires to be where his body appears,

when kneeling before God. He trembles to indulge a state of mind, like too many, in the presence of God, which, if laid open to man, as it is before the Searcher of all hearts, would display a mere scene of idleness and folly; perhaps of pride, and many guilty passions. He "makes not his Father's house an house of merchandise."—The attitude of his body will comport with the feelings of his soul. In prayer he will appear in the posture of prayer; in hearing, of attention; and at all times will shew, by silence and solemnity of manner, the holy occupation, and awful impression of his soul. He will fear to give the proof too many give, by visible appearances, to all around them, of a careless soul;—too fearful proof, that "all are not Israel, who are of Israel:" and that all are not preparing, as he humbly hopes to be, by such a solemnity, for the united and heart-felt worship of saints and angels before the throne of God." (P. 78—80.)

The following short extract, which we cannot avoid taking from the seventh sermon, closes in upon us with so lively and exact a description of two opposite extremes of conduct, into which the whole body of what is called the religious world is perpetually falling, that we cannot dismiss this estimable little volume without extracting it.

"There are, on this point, two opposite errors to be avoided. One is, *the practice of an ostentatious and Pharisaical religion*. When we studiously display what our Great Teacher has himself commanded us to conduct in private, our alms, our prayers, our fasting, with other forms or expressions of devotion perhaps still more easy to adopt, and to abuse; we then lay ourselves open to censure, and expose our religion itself to mockery and contempt. This is not "*to provide things honest in the sight of all men.*" It is rather to incur the imputation of practising a part of religion which is seen, to the neglect of that which is unseen; of courting human approbation, rather than the praise of God only: of affecting an holiness we do not possess; nay of cloaking selfish and injurious designs under a shew of religion. This, in its worst features, was truly exemplified in the character of the ancient Pharisee; and was continually on the lips of our Lord, as the object of His severest censure and reprobation. "All their works they do, that they may be seen of men."—"Verily I say unto you, they have their reward." Religious display, from whatever motives, argues great perverseness of judgment, if not great dishonesty of heart. It is at once guilty and contemptible. And he, who is so far wanting in respect for himself, as to carry on for any purpose the arts of the hypocrite, has little claim to be respected by others; injures the credit of religion; and must sooner or later, through every disguise, expose his shame to God and man.

"But the other, and, I apprehend, far more prevalent error, is that of *being altogether ashamed of our religion*. This, I know, may sometimes in appearance arise from a desire to escape the guilt above mentioned. But under the specious pretence of avoiding an imprudent or affected profession of religion, men will too often consult their fear or love of the world, at an expence both of the fear and

love of God. Afraid of the censure, the scorn, or the envy of bad men, they will be found, far from affecting the good principles they have not, studiously concealing the good they have. They will dare to act against the dictates of conscience, in order to escape the shame of appearing more righteous than their neighbour. By a species of hypocrisy, base in the extreme, they pretend the wickedness at which they secretly shudder; and disclaim the piety, of which they feel the obligation. They "*provide things*" *specious*, rather than "*honest*," or *creditable to their christian profession* "*in the sight of all men*:" and their aim is at once, the disgraceful and vain attempt to appear sufficiently righteous before God for *His* approval, and sufficiently unrighteous before men, to attain also *their* good will. They are ashamed of that, which ought to be their greatest glory; and, for a reward, are suffered to "glory in their shame." They are rash before God, and cowardly before men. They are "afraid of a man that shall die, and of the son of man, which shall be made as grass: And forget the Lord their Maker."

"It is not so, my brethren, but very far from this, with the Christian in the world. He has a consistency and sincerity of mind, which instinctively retreats from every thing approaching either to affectation, or to concealment. He has an high courage, as well as an holy fear, which makes him utterly regardless either of worldly censure, or worldly applause, for its own sake; while, to act with unfaithfulness to God, would fill him with just apprehension. He has a reverence for his Heavenly Father, an affection for his adorable Saviour, which would no more suffer a compromise to their dishonour, than he would fail in his fidelity to an absent and insulted friend. His faithfulness to God is that which will make him, and him alone, successfully aim at "*providing things honest in the sight of all men*." This will lead him equally to shun the service which is only practised for human praise, and to perform that which might only obtain the divine favour. This will direct him far rather to provide what is *really* honourable to his profession, than what is *secretly* profitable to himself. This will induce an uniform adherence to Christian principle, in the sight of *all* men of *every* class. And if he "*becomes*" in a sense, as the Apostle speaks, "*all things to all men*," it will be with the express view, "*by all means to save some*." His mind will be like that of the prophet of old, "*very jealous for the Lord of hosts*:" and his own example he will never wish or dare to withhold, when it can countenance religion, or those that practise it. That example, however, he will desire to speak rather of itself, than at his bidding; by a *secret* influence, than a sudden flash. Above all he will wish it to appear the brightest in those qualities, which are the least shewy, and the most self-denying." (P. 140—143.)

With these samples of Mr. Hoare's publication we take our leave of it: but it is with regret that we take our leave. Nor can we do it till we testify to our little virtuous world of readers the very high sense we entertain of its wisdom and its worth. It is a truly valuable compendium of Christian morals. We do not often ob-

trude our recommendation, being content with bestowing praise or censure, as the work appears to deserve the one or the other; but we do decidedly, feelingly, and confidently say of this book, that it will be a blessing to the family into which it shall introduce its beautiful and holy lessons.

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ART. XIX.—ON THE ORIGINAL POPULATION OF THE BRITISH ISLANDS.

*Flora Britannica; or Studies in Ancient British History; containing various Disquisitions on the National and Religious Antiquities of Great Britain.* By John Hughes. 2 Vols. 8vo. Blanchard. London, 1818, 1819.

*Recherches Historiques sur La Bretagne, d'après ses Monuments Anciens et Modernes.* Par M. Maudet de Penhouët, Chevalier de St. Louis, &c. Orné de Gravures. Première Partic. 4to. pp. 156. Didot, à Paris, 1814.

If the labours of the antiquary are sometimes disregarded or ridiculed, it is not that their object is either useless or trifling. It is, indeed, no other, than to elucidate the obscure and to correct the disjointed parts of history,—of history which teaches morals, politics, and religion, by the attractive and impressive method of example. The Christian will reflect, that the greater part of the Bible is historical. It comprises, with the only complete *national* history extant, the only certain light that can be thrown on the original sources of all nations. We have lately shown that it also supplies important means of adjusting the historical fragments of ancient profane history; and we may add, that it furnishes no less valuable aid to connect these with the most authentic records, and the earliest traditions, of the principal modern nations. The Jewish prophets and historians denominated every nation, with which they had intercourse, after its original progenitor: and Josephus has satisfactorily explained to us the affinities of several nations of Europe, that are still distinguishable by their situations, their languages, or diversities of personal character. A brief view of these nations may best assist us to ascertain the original sources of our own intermingled, and consequently diversified, population.

Beginning from the East, we find in the Russian empire, many Moschite, or Muscovite tribes, that use dialects of the same language to which the Lapland, the Finland, the Esthonian, and also (though much varied) the Hungarian, dialects belong. The



*Moschi* of Greek geographers, that occupied *Caucasus* and *Capadocia*, appear to have been their progenitors; and these are by *Josephus* derived from *Meshech*, a son of *Japheth*. With them are interspersed in *Russia*, numerous *Slavonic* tribes, which also chiefly occupy *Poland*, *Bohemia*, parts of *Prussia* and *Austria*, and the *Turkish* provinces on the *Danube*. These are well known to be descendants of the *Sarmatians*, whom *Herodotus* described as a branch of the ancient *Scythian* nation; and *Josephus* (who likewise expressly confirms their mutual affinity) derives them from *Magog*, another of *Japheth's* sons. In the seventh century before our era, they expelled from the northern coast of the *Euxine*, the *Cimmerians*, or (as *Josephus* terms them) *Gomerians*, that is, descendants of *Gomer*, *Japheth's* eldest son. From three sons of *Gomer*, *Ashkenaz*, *Riphath*, and *Togarmah*, he derives also the *Phrygians*, the *Paphlagonians*, and the *Eubœan* founders of *Rhægium* in *Italy*. All these, therefore, were correlative with the *Cimmerians*, whom *Josephus* identifies with the *Galatæ*, or *Gauls*.

That he understood, by that appellation, inhabitants of *Gaul*, is evident from a description of them by the younger *Agrippa*, which he has recorded; but they were probably better known to him as colonists of *Galatia* in *Asia Minor*; of whom *Augustus* consigned 400 mercenaries to the elder *Herod*, as his guards. *Jerome* asserts, in his preface to *St. Paul's Epistle* to the *Galatians*, that they retained, in the fourth century of our era, a dialect resembling that of *Treves*, where he had formerly pursued his studies. No other speech is known to have ever been commonly used there, than *German*; and though *Julius Cæsar* entitled the inhabitants *Gauls*, he remarked that they boasted a *German* origin.

To elucidate and reconcile these testimonies, it must be considered that *Cæsar*, who both discovered and conquered the countries westward of the *Rhine*, adjusted their nomenclature as he thought proper. A nation which the Romans called *Galli*, or *Gauls*, had crossed the *Alps*, six centuries before our era; and had conquered from the *Tirsenes* (or *Etruscans*) the country on both sides the river *Po*, and on the coast of the *Adriatic Gulph*, to the small river named *Rubicon*. They advanced, 387 B. C. to the city of *Rome*, which they took and plundered; but they were shortly repulsed, and afterwards gradually deprived of all their acquisitions in *Italy*; to which the Romans consequently assigned the name of *Cisalpine Gaul*. *Cæsar*, while governor of this country, and of a smaller province beyond the *Alps*, found that the same nation possessed a territory extending to the *Atlantic Ocean*, between the estuaries of the rivers *Garonne* and *Seine*; that another people, whom he called *Belgæ*, occupied the coun-

try extending from the latter river to the mouths of the Rhine; and a third people, called Aquitani, dwelt between the Garonne, and the Pyrenees. "All these," he reported to "differ from each other in language, customs, and laws;" but he left it unexplained, whether their varieties were such as to indicate that they were of three different original *nations*, or three *tribes* of the same nation, or *two* belonging to one nation, and the third to another. He gave also the name of Gallia to the whole country which he conquered; and that of Galli (or Gauls) to all its inhabitants, without regard to their mutual distinction or diversity.

Cisalpine Gaul had formerly been inhabited by a nation which the Greeks named Ligyes, and the Romans Ligures, who also possessed territories westward of the Alps. They continued to occupy the latter, and the maritime district of Genoa, when dispossessed by the Tirsenes of the rest of Cisalpine Gaul. Their capital, at first, was Massylia, now Marseilles; which, being captured by a Greek colony (from Phocæa, in Asia Minor,) became a seat of commerce, inferior only to Carthage. From these navigators, Herodotus learned, that a people denominated *Celtæ* had spread from the sources of the Danube, to the coast of the Atlantic, westward of the narrow entrance of the Mediterranean Sea; but that a different nation named *Cynetæ*; or *Cynesii*, was situated still more westward. By later writers, this westernmost European nation was called *Iberian*; and one of its tribes, named *Cynetes*, and *Cunei*, was described as occupying the banks of the Guadiana. The resemblance of the names *Κυνήσιοι*, and *Κονισκοί*, however, may indicate the same tribe to have reached a northern district of Spain, which Strabo assigned to the Cantabri Conisci: and if, as is not improbable, by *Cyantes* (a name given to the *Veneti* of Gaul,) was meant *Cynetes*, it would also imply *them*, or else some prior occupants of their country, to have been originally Iberians. The latter being understood to have been the primitive inhabitants of Spain, the Greeks called that country *Iberia*; and the *Celtæ* being better known to them than any other people dwelling north of the Pyrenees, they called *that* region *Κελτική*, *Celtica*, in general, without defining its extent. Cæsar understood that the nation which the Romans had named Galli, called themselves *Celtæ*; and he accordingly restricted that title to the midland inhabitants of Gaul, in distinction from the Belgæ and the Aquitani; naming all of them, in common, Galli; and distinguishing them from nations dwelling *eastward* of the Rhine, by calling the latter (in general) *Germani*.

Of these, the Romans had no other previous knowledge than as associates of the Celts, in some of their incursions into Italy;

and it is supposed that the title Germani was used to denote their apparent affinity to each other. Some of them were found to be denominated Cimbri; and it was conjectured that they might be descendants of the Cimmerii. Others were called Teutones, by a Latin inflection of the only name that was ever assumed by the German nation, Deutsch (Teut-ish) which we call Dutch, but which they pronounce like the English proper name, Dyche. The same people (likewise in concurrence with the Gauls,) made formidable inroads on Greece; and the remains of one of these expeditions, in the third century before the Christian era, settled in Asia Minor. The Greeks usually called them, indiscriminately, Celtæ and Galatæ; but subsequent to the conquest of Gaul by the Romans, some Greek writers distinguished the Gauls by the former, and the Germans by the latter appellation; while others reversed that nomenclature. Ptolemy connected these titles together, naming Gaul, Celto-galatia, as distinguished from Germany.

Strabo, who wrote half a century later than Cæsar, says of the Gauls, "Some make a tripartite division of them into Aquitani, Belgæ, and Celtæ: but the Aquitani entirely differ; not in language only, but in person also, resembling the Iberians, rather than the Galatæ. The rest are of a Galatian appearance, though they are not all alike in language, but some vary a little, and differ also in government and manner of living." When he substitutes Galatæ and Galatian for Gauls and Gallic, he therefore evidently refers to the Celtæ and the Belgæ conjointly, exclusive of the Aquitani. Speaking of the former as one people (το δε συμπαν φυλον ο νυν ΓΑΛΛΙΚΟΝ τε και ΓΑΑΤΙΚΟΝ καλεσιν), he says, "At present they submit quietly, and obey the orders of the Romans who have subdued them; but that they formerly were as we have described them, we learn by customs that are still extant among the Germans; for both are correlative, and similar by nature and institutions, only inhabiting countries divided by the Rhine, and in most things resembling each other."\* More particularly he adds, "The Germans inhabit the country eastward of the Rhine, next to the Celtic people; and vary little from the Celtic branch, in ferocity, stature, or complexion; but in tallness, fairness, manners, and food, resemble the Celts."†

We cannot refrain from pausing, at this stage of the discussion, to submit to the judgment of our readers, whether, on these testimonies, it appears possible that the CELTS should

\* Strabon. Geog. lib. 4 (Falconer) pp. 241, 273.

† Ib. lib. 7, p. 418, Strabo distinguishes the stature and complexion of the Germans, as Tacitus afterwards did; πλεονασμω τε μεγεθους και της ξανθοτητος—rutiles comæ, magui artus.

have been *Welch*. The Celts were clearly, strongly, and repeatedly asserted, by a contemporary and well-informed writer, to differ little from the *Germans*, in language or in person. The *Germans*, having never been subjugated by a foreign nation, remain at present, in these respects, essentially the same as when Strabo wrote. Tacitus, in the same century, described the personal appearance of the *Silures* in Britain, similarly to that of the modern natives of Wales, who are their undoubted descendants. The difference of the *Welch* and the German languages is well known to be no less striking than that of the personal aspect of the two nations. Of course, the *Welch* cannot have descended from the Celts, because these greatly resembled the ancient *Germans*.

It is probable that the irruption of the Celts into Italy was occasioned by assaults from some more ferocious neighbours, rather than by the mere increase of their population; especially as they undertook, at the same juncture, an equally formidable expedition, in a different direction. The countries north of the Danube, in the time of Herodotus, either were not inhabited, or were unknown by the Greeks to be so. The Celts penetrated to, and occupied Bohemia, and afterwards spread along the banks of the Danube, to Illyricum and Thrace. Strabo repeatedly asserts that the Thracian tribes, and those which he calls Celtic and Galatian, spoke the same language.\* It appears, therefore, reasonable to infer, that both *Germans* and *Gauls* had migrated from Thrace, though at a period prior to all authentic history of the countries. That of the *Greeks*, indeed, commenced so late as to render this easily credible; but their mythological traditions, which probably (like those of other nations) disguised historical events by fictitious embellishments, may intimate the causes and epochs of such remote emigrations.

The original occupation of Thrace by *Tiras*, and that of Greece by *Javan*, both sons of *Japheth*, cannot reasonably be doubted; but it does not appear, that the descendants of *Tiras* retained the possession of Thrace, at the epoch of the Trojan war. That country was then, and long continued to be, inhabited by *Phrygian* tribes, descended from *Gomer*. The family of *Saturn* was *Paphlagonian* by origin; and acquired the dominion of Thrace, and Greece, probably about thirteen centuries before the Christian era. Numerous *Gomerian* tribes, both northward and southward of the *Euxine*, seem to have crowded into Thrace, which Herodotus deemed the most populous region of Europe. The appellation of *Thracians* devolved to them

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\* For a demonstration of the identity of the ancient *Thracians*, *Gauls*, and *Germans*, see Dr. Pritchard's *Physical History of Man*, pp. 485—507.

with the country; and the former inhabitants, partly emigrated, partly mingled with the Greeks, sought shelter in a few mountainous districts of their former territory, or remained subject to, and merged in, the victorious nation. Such, at the dawn of authentic history, appears to have been the state of the *Pelasgi*, who are said to have been so named after one of their kings. Some of them (as the *Athenians*) became wholly Grecian; and their language probably had much influence on the Hellenic dialects. The few who retained it unchanged, preserving a local independence, were named (from *Tiras*) *Tirsenes*. Many took refuge in Italy, where they were also called *Tyrrhencs* and *Etrusci*. Many might ascend the southern bank of the Danube, and open a path to the various subsequent migrations from Thrace, which seem to have contributed to the mixed population of Gaul. If yet there are distinct remains of the *Pelasgi* in their original habitations, they can be no other than the *Albanians*; and their state altogether corresponds with such an origin. Their language, next to the Greek, has most affinity to that of the French; more especially resembling it in a redundancy of nasal sounds, that cannot easily be traced to any other source.

The contentions of Saturn's family terminated in his own removal to Italy; but his name does not appear to have been more venerated there than by our Saxon progenitors. *Seadorn* not only was an object of their worship, but gave his name (as among the Latins) to the seventh day of the week. The name *Titunes*, which the Greeks gave to Saturn's kindred, varies little from that of *Teutones*, the genuine appellation of the ancient Germans. As they revolted from Saturn, but were overcome by Jupiter, they were likely to form a second colony, and to follow the track of the original Thrucians toward Gaul. Another emigration might result from the conflict between the giants and the reigning deified family; and the uncommon stature of the ancient Germans favours such a conjecture. *Dis* (or *Pluto*, brother of *Jupiter*,) is said to have been the principal divinity of the Celts; and his dominions were supposed by the Greeks to comprise the remotest western regions. If he commanded one of the western colonies from Thrace, the fable may be naturally explained. *Hermes*, also, appears to have been venerated by the Germans, who still call a ruler, *Herr-man*. It was his office to guide departed spirits to *Pluto's* realm; and perhaps he might conduct a later colony westward. One of the three earliest German tribes was named *Hermionones*. Finally, Justin has preserved a tradition, that the Giants fought with the Gods in the forests of the *Cynetes* in Spain; which can hardly be otherwise interpreted, than of the Celtic invasion of that district;

and Callimachus denounces the Celts, who assaulted the temple at Delphi, as the posterity of the *Titans*, returning from the extremity of the *West*.\*

On similar conjectures, our readers will readily exempt us from enlarging: neither should we have glanced at these, but that, in other old national traditions, we have traced authentic facts, no less disguised and distorted. That the language of the Goths, in Thrace, was originally the same with that of the modern Germans, is evident from Ulphilas's version of the Gospels. Of the proper Celtic language, few terms comparatively have been preserved: some of these are German, some are found in the Welch and its collateral dialects, and others are foreign to both languages. The words which Schœpflin collected in Alsace vary greatly from those which are used in Bretagne; and the Gascon dialect differs much more widely from both, being obviously related to the Basque language; the affinities of which, to any of the British dialects, are so latent, that their connexion has been denied, by natives of the countries, as well as by eminent foreign philologists. Scaliger could not trace, in the Basque language, a radical resemblance of any other: and Latour d'Auvergne Corret, a native of Bretagne, and a fervent admirer of the Biscayans, has said, "J'ai fait de cette dernière langue une étude réfléchie, pendant un long séjour dans la Biscaye: j'ai compulsé presque tous les livres écrits dans l'idiome des Basques: le résultat de mes recherches a été de me convaincre, que non-seulement cette langue n'offroit aucun point de rapprochement avec le bas-breton, mais qu'elle différoit entièrement de toutes les langues de l'Europe." (*Origines Gauloises*, p. 126.) Of the last point, we do not think that this brave man was competent to judge; and we doubt whether the Cantabrian New Testament ever fell in his way. From this, however, we have known an entire gospel transcribed by a member of the university of Oxford, who was a native of Wales, without his discovery of any resemblance between the Welch and the Basque. Strong as these testimonies are, we can, nevertheless, only regard them as conclusive, against the original *identity* of the Cantabrian with any other language of Europe. That it has *affinities* to the ancient British dialects, was decided, by a person probably better qualified than any other individual to determine so difficult a question. The learned, ingenious, and indefatigable Edward Llwyd has inserted in several departments of his *Archæologia Britannica*, nearly 400 Cantabrian words, all of which have a resemblance, more or less obvious, to corres-

\* *Illymus in Delum. Ex. βερβερη και ηελτω . . . οηγομεν Ιετην., αβ αβηρη αεχμ-  
των/τω; συνδυηται.*—173—175.

ponding terms in the Welch and Irish dialects. There are also others (probably many) so much disguised by the complicated inflections of the Basque language, as to bear no *apparent* affinity to any other: but, when divested of their grammatical appendages, and reduced to a radical monosyllable, the term is often found closely to resemble one of the same signification in ancient British dialects. We infer, therefore, that the original language to which such terms belonged, had entered into the *composition* of the Cantabrian; but in a much inferior proportion to another language from which it radically differed. Its original source can only be conjectured, in the present defective state of glossology: but the means of improvement in that science have so rapidly multiplied, since the formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society, that we may reasonably hope for the elucidation of much that has hitherto been wholly involved in obscurity. We cannot, however, but intimate our concern and surprise, that the pious and zealous conductors of that institution have not yet reprinted the Cantabrian New Testament, which has long been extremely scarce. The language differs almost as much from Spanish, as Welch from English; and the Biscayans are no less attached to their native tongue than our ancient Britons. To reprint their New Testament would, therefore, be the surest way to excite their attention to it; and would probably give occasion to revised versions of it, in the dialects of Biscay and of Guypuzcoa, if not in those of Alaba, Navarre, and the French Pyrenean departments. It would also confer an obligation on philology, that could not but redound greatly to the credit of the society, and must thereby augment its utility.

Strabo, in maintaining that the Aquitani resembled Iberians rather than Celts, doubtless comprised the ancient Cantabri, the ancestors of the Basques, among the former, by whom he meant the earliest inhabitants of Spain. Beside these, Varro enumerated the Persæ, the Phenicians, the Celts, and the Carthaginians, as constituting together the population of that country: but as it is unknown that any Persian colony was planted there, and extremely improbable that it should be, in the order of time that he intimates, the term Persæ seems more likely to have been written for Perorsi, whom Pliny mentions as an Ethiopian tribe, situated in Mauritania: for part of the Spanish population was black; and this was omitted by Varro, if not designed by the term in question. The Iberians are described by Tacitus as dark-complexioned, with short curling hair; which indicated an African origin, but not an Ethiopian, or Negro descent. Lehabim, a son of Mizraim, conquered the African coast as far west as the lake Libyus or Tritonis, now called Lake Loudeah, probably

from Ludim, Mizraim's eldest son. The whole northern coast of Africa was consequently called Libya, although first inhabited by descendants of Phut, the third son of Ham; whose name was retained by a river of Mauritania, which Pliny, as well as Josephus, has mentioned; but the inhabitants of the coast greatly varied.

A considerable number and diversity of tribes were in general classed as Iberians, chiefly because their personal resemblance indicated a common origin. It denoted them, in general, to be emigrants from Northern Africa, (in distinction both from the Asiatic Phenicians, and the European Celts) whatever minor differences might attach to their various tribes. The descendants of Phut (like those of Gomer) probably used several dialects of the same original language; while the posterity of Ludim and Lchabin spoke a language radically different. The latter, however, was likely to become mingled with that of the easternmost descendants of Phut, whom they conquered; especially in the district of Byzacium, the boundary of the two nations, so much celebrated for its peculiar fertility. It does not, therefore, follow, because the inhabitants of Spain, prior to the Phenician and Celtic invasions, (with the exception of some black colonists,) had a mutual personal resemblance, that their language was universally either the same, or only modified by diversities of dialect. The Basque tongue, essentially as it still differs from all dialects used in other parts of Spain, (which also vary greatly one from another,) has evidently been very much affected by the same causes that operated more completely on other dialects. It is very copiously impregnated with Latin terms, and, in some degree, with others of Hebrew affinity, though less than might have been expected from the successive intrusions of Phenicians, Carthaginians, and Saracens, the vestiges of which in the Spanish language are remarkably strong.\* We do not apprehend that the question at issue between the Cantabrian and Spanish antiquaries, whether the language of the former ever generally prevailed in Spain, or was always confined nearly to its present boundaries, can be decided by *internal* evidence. We are inclined to the latter conclusion: partly, because (so far as we have examined) most Cantabrian terms that are common to the Spanish and Portuguese languages, are likewise found among

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\* What we call Spanish, and *Spaniards* the Castillian, retains more vestiges of Arabic than other Spanish dialects. The Portuguese most resembles it, except the Galician, which is a medium between them. The Catalan and the Valencian (which is called *Espanol*, and is also used in the Balearic Isles) are varieties of the old Provençal, or Romanese language. The Romans gave the name of *Hispania* to the country; and appear to have changed its language much more than the Syrians did.



the ancient British dialects; and partly, because the composite nature of the Basque language, and both the ancient and modern appellations of the people, indicate them to be a mixture of two nations by which the north of Africa was peopled. The main body of African emigrants to Spain was likely to consist of tribes situated near the narrow strait that separates the two continents. These were the Maurusii; between whom and the proper Libyans, both the Numidæ and the Gætuli intervened. The westernmost extreme of the Libyans was (as has been observed) Byzacium; and the names Byzacium, Biscay, Basque, Vascones, Gascogne, (in Welch, Gwas-gwyn,) have an obvious resemblance, that fully comports with such a derivation. The Libyan conquests might first urge the western Africans to cross into Spain; and they might, in the course of time, be pursued thither by some of their invaders: but it is most probable, from their comparative numbers and different local positions, that the Maurusii, with their correlatives, and not the Libyans, contributed chiefly to the population of Spain. It is certain, that the former, by whatever means, either almost wholly emigrated from Africa, or were nearly exterminated there. In the time of Pliny, very few Maurusian families remained; and their neighbours, the Numidian Massæsyli, were said to be completely extirpated.

The Massyli, situated next to Byzacium, seem to have emigrated as early, and as numerous, but in a different direction from the Maurusii. Sardinia lay opposite to their country, and was likely first to receive them. Corsica intervened in their way thence to the Italian coast: and in all these positions we find the *Ligurians*, who spread over the north of Italy and the south-eastern part of Gaul, and appear to have given their name to the river Liger, or Loire, which rises in the vicinity of the Rhone, and issues in the Atlantic ocean. Their capital was Massylia; their principal tribe the Salyes; and some of them retained their original appellation, as Libyci. From their Greek denomination Ligyes, their territory was called Ligustica; from their Latin name, Ligures, it was better known (when confined between the coast and the Appenines) as Liguria. They were first surnamed Ibero-Ligyes, probably from their personal resemblance of the Iberians; afterwards they were denominated Celto-Ligyes, when subdued by, and mingled with the Celts, on both sides of the Alps, as well as in Spain, where they penetrated to the river Ebro, and were also distinguished as Celtiberians. The Ligurians, therefore, appear to have had a similar origin with the Iberians; but to have been separated from them, and to have met again, on the confines of Gaul and Spain. We have before mentioned their subjugation

in Italy by the Pelasgic Etruscans, who were conquered, in their turn, and expelled, by the Celts, from their settlements in Cisalpine Gaul.

The view that has now been taken, of the origins of various nations of Europe, was requisite to decide on that of the earliest Britons; for there is hardly any one of these nations from which they have not been deduced. Our legendary chroniclers, in imitation of their Roman conquerors, aimed to derive their countrymen from Greece or Troy. Modern Britons have rejected these fables; but have substituted, on no other ground than the use of a British dialect by a tribe that was attached to the ancient *Æsty*i (when resident on the Vistula), a claim to that people as their ancestors. From the *Æsty*i came the modern Esthes, or Esthonians, who are of the Moschite, or Fennite nation: but mistaking them for a Sarmatian tribe, some Welch writers have classed all the Slavonic dialects with the language of the ancient Britons; although a moderate acquaintance with the former might have guarded them against so palpable an error.\* It has more commonly, and indeed almost universally, been taken for granted, that the Celts were the ancestors of the Britons: but concerning the Celtic nation itself, the most opposite opinions have been maintained. Some ancient writers applied this, and other national appellatives, promiscuously to all the inhabitants of countries that had once been occupied by the nations so called; and sometimes with such laxity, as to comprise even all that dwelt in the same quarter of the world. Thus the denomination of Scythians was not only transferred to the Thracian Getæ, when they spread into Scythia, but was used of all the northern nations, without distinction. In like manner, all western nations were termed Celts; the eastern, Indians; and the southern, Ethiopians. From so vague a nomenclature, the principal geographers of the sixteenth century inferred, that all (or nearly all) European nations were but branches of the Celtic stock. Their influence gave general currency to the hypothesis; and M. Pelloutier exhibited it under its completest form, in his *Histoire des Celtes*, 1740, 1750. Some writers, indeed, had intervened, who dared to deviate from the beaten track, and to insist that the ancients in general represented only the Germans and Gauls (and colonies planted by them) to be Celtic: and one writer, even of the sixteenth century, maintained that the Gauls alone were Celts. The last opinion, however, found few supporters; and even these regarded both the Belgæ and the Celtæ as derived from Germans, till the learned and ingenious Schœpflin, in his great work, on

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\* See Appendix to Mr. Hughes's first volume, p. 336.

the History of Alsace, folio, 1751, advanced the positions, that the Celts were a nation wholly distinct from the Germans, and that they originated from Gaul. He fulfilled, in the *Vindiciæ Colticæ* (thin 4to. 1754), his engagement to illustrate and support this hypothesis. His conclusion (p. 93) was, that

“All Gaul was once inhabited only by the Celts, unmixed with other nations, and using the same language and customs; that the Cantabri and Vascones from Spain, on the south-west, and the Germans crossing the Rhine from the north and east, mingled with the Celts, and respectively introduced differences of dialect and customs, among those who dwelt between the Pyrennees and the river Garonne, or between the Rhine and the Seine. . . . So, the Belgic dialect sprang from the Celtic and the German idioms; and the Aquitanian, from the Celtic and the Basque. The Celts occupying the middle territory between the Belgæ and the Aquitani, retained their native language pure from any corruption by other idioms.”

He subjoins in a note,

“The remains of the three ancient languages of Gaul are still found within its limits. The Armorican language, used in Lower Bretagne, exhibits the remains of the original Celtic tongue. The Cantabrian, or ancient Vasconic, is still used, not only in the adjacent mountainous parts of Spain, but likewise on this side the Pyrennees, in the French district of Soule, about Bayonne.”

Of what he meant by *remains* of the third ancient language of Gaul, the Belgic dialect, which he supposed to be a mixture of the ancient Celtic and German languages, the author gave no intimation: and we do not perceive how the deficiency can be supplied. Beside the Bâs-Breton and Gascon dialects, the common French alone can be called a third Gallic language: and if this was Belgic, why should it prevail equally in Celtic as in Belgic Gaul? If any other dialect was meant, it ought to have been specified, no less than the other two remains of ancient languages. Some reason should also have been given for assuming that the Aquitani used a mixed language: since they might, for aught we know, speak pure Cantabrian, till the Roman conquest. To assert that the Celts “retained their native language pure from any corruption by other idioms,” is a mere *gratis dictum*, unsupported either by historical facts, or by the collections that have been made of Celtic terms, some of these being German, some Welch, and some of unknown derivation. But the grand absurdity in Schœpflin’s hypothesis is, that of supposing any nation, which was radically distinct from all other nations, to have originated in Gaul. To demonstrate that the Celts did so, is the entire scope of his argument: and although some parts of it are disputable, and others admit of easy refutation, we think that he has established his main

point; and we fully admit, that genuine Celts, wherever their colonies spread, always came from Gaul. But what follows? If Gaul was their centre and source, they could *not* be an originally distinct nation. The Celtic people must have been formed *in* Gaul by a mixture of different original nations; as the English nation was formed, *in* Britain, whose colonies, now dispersed incomparably farther than those of the Celts ever were, have consequently all originated hence.

No ancient author intimates, that more than two distinct original nations had reached the western countries of Europe. Disputes on this subject have arisen chiefly from the different modes of nomenclature customary among Greek and Roman writers. The Romans commonly described nations no otherwise than from the countries which they inhabited; and meant by the terms, Britons, Gauls, Germans, and Spaniards, only the people, in general, who inhabited the countries of Britain, Gaul, Germany, or Spain. The Greeks, on the contrary, usually denominated nations from their apparent affinities: and therefore distinguished the Aquitani, as resembling the Iberians, from other inhabitants of Gaul; while to these, whether Celts or Belgæ, and to the Germans in general, they gave the name of Celtæ or Galatæ: apprehending them (whether justly or not) to be branches of the same original nation. These diversities of nomenclature affected even their modes of describing the personal forms and languages of nations. Tacitus discriminated the Gallic from the German speech; but without intimating that variations of language existed among the Gauls. In like manner, he distinguished the British tongue, both from the German and the Gallic; but although he described three classes of the inhabitants of Britain, as varying in personal form and complexion, he omitted to state any diversity in their language, unless that those Britons who were situated nearest to the Gauls, differed little from them, in this, as well as in other respects.

Julius Cæsar had observed, that "the interior of Britain was inhabited by natives of the island; but the sea-coast, by others, who had passed over from the Belgæ, for plunder and warfare; almost all of whom retained the names of those communities from which they originated: and war becoming habitual, they remained there, and began to cultivate lands." Tacitus doubted, "whether the first inhabitants of Britain were indigenous or emigrants;" but remarked, that

"Their temperament of body was various, whence deductions might be formed of their different origin. Thus the ruddy hair and large limbs of the Caledonians point out a German derivation. The swarthy complexion and curled hair of the Silures, together with their situation opposite to Spain, render it probable that a colony of the ancient Iberi possessed

themselves of that territory. They who are nearest Gaul resemble the inhabitants of that country: which may be imputed either to the duration of hereditary influence, or to that similarity of climate, proceeding from the mutual approach of the coasts, which occasions similarity of constitution. On a general survey, however, it appears probable that the Gauls originally took possession of the neighbouring coast. The sacred rites and superstitions of these people are discernible among the Britons. The languages of the two nations do not greatly differ.\*

These passages remind us of our obligation to the *Bible*, for information, that men did *not* grow up, like trees, out of the various lands which they first inhabited; and, therefore, for our essential advantages over the best informed heathens, in tracing the remote origins of nations. We should also recollect, that the Greeks and Romans supposed the direction of the British Channel to be nearer *south* than west; so that they did not suspect Cornwall to have intervened between Wales and Spain. The Silures, who occupied both sides of the Bristol Channel, were a principal tribe of the original Britons; and doubtless were named by Tacitus as representatives of those inhabitants of the interior, whom Cæsar had mentioned. "*Pars interior ab iis incolitur, quos natos in insulâ ipsâ, memoriâ proditum dicant.*" (Bell. Gall. v. 10.) The "*proximi Gallis*" of Tacitus, also, were evidently those of whom Cæsar had said, "*Maritima pars ab iis, qui, prædæ ac belli inferendi causâ, ex Belgis transierant.*" The only *maritime* part with which Cæsar was acquainted was that which was nearest Gaul. Those inhabitants of Britain, therefore, whom Tacitus compared with the Gauls, were the *Belgæ*, who had crossed the Channel from the opposite coast, and had settled in the southern and eastern parts of our island. Cæsar very seldom distinguishes *Belgæ* from *Celts*, mentioning them usually, in common only, as *Gauls*;

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\* As this is the only express testimony of ancient writers to the origin of the first Britons, having quoted the version of Dr. Aikin, as a judicious and impartial translator, we subjoin the original, enclosing in brackets a part which Schœpflin (for a sufficiently obvious reason) excluded, on quoting the passage, *Vind. Celt.* p. 98.

"Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenæ an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum, [Habitus corporum varii, atque ex eo argumenta: namque rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, magni artus, Germanicam originem adseverant; Silurum colorati vultus, et torti plerumque crines, et posita contra Hispaniam, Iberos veteres trajecisse, easque sedes occupasse, fidem faciunt;] proximi Gallis et similes sunt, seu durante originis vi, seu procurentibus in diversa terris, positio cæli corporibus habitum dedit; in universum tamen æstimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitionum persuasionem; sermo haud multo diversus." (Vit. Agricola, 11.)

Dr. Aikin has considerably deviated from the original in the last sentence, by applying it to the *two nations* of Gauls and Britons. Tacitus appears to refer only to those who occupied the opposite coasts of the Channel, whom he had contrasted with the German Caledones and the Iberian Silures.

but as he expressly states these to be *Belgæ*, he would probably have intimated the inhabitants of the interior to be *Celts*, if he had known, or supposed, them to be so. He understood them, on the contrary, to have been immemorially natives of the island: Tacitus, from personal knowledge of them, observing that they strongly resembled the Iberians (whom Strabo contrasts both with the Celts and the Belgæ) concluded, that they had come to Britain from Spain; and as he supposed that country to be opposite to theirs, he naturally referred to the circumstance, not as the foundation of his opinion, but as coinciding with it. He describes them as the reverse, in personal appearance, of the Caledonians, who occupied the northern part of Britain; whom he derived (without any hesitation) from the Germans. His decisions, in both respects, are the more to be depended upon, for his deliberation in judging, whether the inhabitants of the *south coast* of Britain, notwithstanding their resemblance of the Gauls on the opposite side of the channel, had migrated thence; or, dwelling (as he supposed) in the same latitude, had been assimilated by the influence of climate.

The only ancient testimony, therefore, to the national origin of the earliest Britons, and that too of the most satisfactory nature, by the most acute and discriminative of all classical historians, and who possessed adequate means of judging, decides, that *our British ancestors were NOT Celts, but IBERIANS, of a nation totally distinct from, and strongly contrasted with the CELTS.*

This conclusion strikes at the root of Schœpflin's hypothesis: for, if the Bâs-Bretons were descendants of the ancient Celts, then the Welch too, whose ancestors were the Silures, must be so; because they both still retain nearly the same language. Tacitus, however, could not but be summoned on this cause: and how should it be contrived to pervert his evidence, so as to make it *seem* to imply, that the earliest Britons were Celts?—The matter, doubtless, was difficult; but it was indispensable to accomplish it. Schœpflin, accordingly, quoted the *beginning* of the paragraph, in which Tacitus stated the general obscurity of the sources of barbarous nations: then, *wholly excluding the descriptions which he had given of the Caledonians and the Silures*, he leaps to what was said of those who dwelt nearest to the Gauls, representing what follows, to the end of the quotation, and nothing but that, to have been written by Tacitus, of *all the inhabitants of Britain!*

To Schœpflin we readily accord eminent learning, talent, and industry: but it appears to us impossible that any writer should act thus, who was not contending for victory, rather than for truth. Had he cited the whole testimony of Tacitus, and then

rejected what relates to the Silures; however weak his argument against it might have been, we could have acquitted him of intending to deceive others, and have supposed only that he deceived himself. Even now, we give him credit for having honestly *formed* his opinion, and we tax him with dishonesty, only for his manner of *maintaining* it. Amidst his laborious researches into the history of Alsace, he laudably selected from the *Patois* of the peasantry, such terms as were foreign both to the Latin and the Teutonic languages, regarding them as relics of a dialect which had been used before the Roman conquest of Gaul. Among these, he found several words that are likewise used by the Bâs-Bretons; although others bore no resemblance to their language. He considered the affinity, however, on the whole, sufficient to warrant the inference, that the Bâs-Breton language had once been used from the western to the eastern extremity of Gaul, and consequently, that it was the genuine Celtic speech: and as it appeared to differ radically both from that of the Germans, and from that of the Basques, he concluded the Celts to have been a nation originally distinct both from Germans and Iberians.

Thus he evidently assumed (what is strenuously denied by the best Spanish grammarians) that the Cantabrian language was formerly that of Iberians in general; and likewise (what was in immediate question) that the Celts were *not* of German origin: for if they were so, the Teutonic terms also, that are comprised in the dialect of Alsace, must have formed part of the Celtic speech, equally with those which are used likewise by the Bâs-Bretons. The latter class of terms might belong to a people that had occupied Gaul, before the Celts, from Germany, invaded and conquered it; and *that* people might be of Iberian origin, notwithstanding the radical difference between their language and that of the Cantabrians and Aquitani. Schœpflin's ground, therefore, was by no means strong enough to stem the entire current of ancient testimony, which invariably tends to establish, that the whole of western Europe was occupied, at the dawn of authentic history, by *two* nations only; the more western, denominated Cynetæ and Iberians; the other, Celtæ and Germans.

If, however, Schœpflin persisted to assume the existence of a third distinct nation, first discovered by himself, it surely became him to assign some probable origin to so unheard-of a people; but this he scrupulously declined. The Germans could be traced from Thrace; the Iberians, through Spain, from Africa: but whence, and by what route, came the Celts, if they were neither Germans, nor Iberians, nor an intermixture of those nations? His answer is this:

“ Primi hujus regionis incolæ nec ut fungi nec ut insecta, ex terrâ

prodierunt, sed in eam advenerunt aliunde. Colonia hæc, an ab Aschenazis Noachidæ (cui nomen Celtæ Cluvérius tribuit) posteris ducta fuerit, atque à ponte Euxino; Danubii oras legens, ad Rhenum ascenderit, eoque transito, Sequanorum nostrorum caput, Vesontionem condiderit, quod juniores quidam nimia conjectandi libertata, tradiderunt, *definiverit nemo*. Nec asseruerimus idioma, quod antiquissimi in oram nostram advenæ attulerunt, ipsum illud Celticum fecisse, quod ante Cæsaris in hanc regionem adventum fuerat in usu. Ex primâ enim qualicunque primorum hominum linguâ diversæ dialecti, ex dialectis linguæ novæ ex his novæ dialecti, longâ millenariorum seriè nasci potuerunt." (Lingua Alsatæ sub Periodo Celtico, 1.)

His admission, that a more ancient language than the Celtic *may* have been spoken in Gaul, affects the very ground on which he assumed the Celts to have been a distinct nation from the Germans and Iberians: for, supposing the *Iberian* language to have been spoken in Gaul before the Germans arrived, the Celtic language might be composed of this, intermixed with that of the Germans. Throughout his *Vindiciæ Celticæ*, he has given no intimation whatever of any probable origin of the Celts. His whole aim was to maintain, that Gaul was the original seat of the Celtic nation; and that wherever else they were known to have dwelt, they came thither from Gaul. The last sentence of his *preface* is thus expressed:

"Ex omnibus his veterum documentis, quæ elicienda sententia sit, judicet lector. Singulis in Republicâ literatâ senatoribus liberum est, suam proferre. Erunt fortassis, qui causâ examinatâ sentient; *Galliam solam solum natale proprium extitisse Cellarum*.

We think too highly of Schœpflin's discernment, to suppose that he was not aware of defects and incongruities in his hypothesis: but he had pledged himself, in his history of Alsace, to establish it; and he had probably taken too much pains for the purpose, before he discovered its fallacy, to be willing to abandon it. Besides, he had completely subverted the prevailing system, which Pelloutier had so recently brought to its greatest perfection: and accordingly, his work produced a revolution seldom paralleled in other branches of literature. Very few antiquaries or glossologists, comparatively, pretended any longer, to class both the German and the Welch languages as dialects of the ancient Celtic; but reasonably assigning the former to the Gothic nations, they too hastily concluded that the ancient British language must be the Celtic, as Schœpflin had assumed it to be. Having been deemed such from the time of Ortelius (in common with other European languages), its right to that appellation remained undisputed; and the concurrence of so profound a scholar as Michaëlis, in Schœpflin's decision, could not but be



fluence their countrymen. In his *Spicilegium Geographiæ Hebræorum exterae*, published 1769, under the title *Gomer*, Michaelis says,

“*Monendos autem censeo cives meos, Celtas, quos patriæ amore cum Germanis confundere solent, suam gentem fuisse, origine et linguâ a Germanis diversissimos; quod quidam peroratum a summo Schœpflino in Alsatia illustrata, ut notum et concessum sumo.*” (P. 19.)

He even supposed, that Josephus, in deriving the Celts from *Gomer*, referred to the Welch denomination, *Cymry*; of which, hardly any thing can be less probable than that Josephus ever heard! He was likely to know, that Strabo reckoned the Gauls and Germans to be of the same original nation; and that the Gauls in Asia Minor used a language resembling that of the Germans; and consequently, to derive the Gauls from Gomer, if he believed the Germans to be descendants of that patriarch. He also probably knew, that the Cimbri, who are represented by all Roman writers as a German tribe, were supposed by some of them to have descended from the Cimmerians, whom he apparently meant by *Γομαρηις*, or Gomerians. The term *Cymry*, on the contrary, is well known to be formed of two Welch terms, *cyn* and *bro*, making in composition *cymro*, and signifying *first country*. The ancient British bards also call their nation *Cynet*, which is the plural of *Cyn*, and *Cynwys* (from *cyn* and *gwys*), which signifies *first people*. These terms, both in the orthography and the pronunciation, so closely resemble the *Κυνται* and *Κυνωιοι* of Herodotus, that they appear, almost unquestionably, to have been designated by the *Cynetæ* and *Cynesii*, whom he knew to dwell westward of the Celts.

The Scandinavians did not relinquish the appellation of Celts so readily as the Germans. The learned Ihre, in his *Suio-Gothic lexicon*, likewise published 1769, insisted on the affinity of the Gothic and Welch languages. To Englishmen, however, the disparity was too obvious to be mistaken. Bishop Percy, in the preface to his translation of Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, 1770, collated the Lord's Prayer in various dialects of each language; rendering thereby their radical difference as evident as it could be made by so brief a specimen. He prudently entered no further into Schœpflin's hypothesis, than to prove the Germans and the original Britons to have been of nations originally distinct. This by no means satisfied Mr. Pinkerton; who, in 1787, published his dissertation on the Scythians or Goths, identifying those nations, though Herodotus had as clearly distinguished them as the *Cynetæ* from the Celts. He fell into the same kind of error that he opposed; confounding as many na-

tions under the title of *Scythians*, as others had denominated the Celts.\* Mr. Pinkerton's laborious research, (and partly, perhaps, his positiveness and vehemence) gave such apparent force to his arguments, that hardly any English writer has since ventured to call the Welch or Irish by their proper names, lest he should appear to be ignorant that they were *Celts*! One member of the Society of Antiquaries presumed, indeed, to oppose this general practice. In the 16th volume of the *Archæologia*, published 1809, pp. 95 to 122, are three letters, dated 1807, which were intended to demonstrate, from classical authorities, authentic British documents, and the existing remains of ancient languages, that the original Britons were not Celts, but Iberians, as we have shown them to be: but the author does not appear to have known what Schœpflin had adduced in proof that the Celts originated from Gaul; and, therefore, by implicitly following ancient Greek writers, he identified Celts with Germans, and Cantabrians with Iberians, in general.† We do not recollect, that, in any other instance, (excepting one or two periodical publications) the hypothesis of an Iberian British derivation has either been followed or discussed. English, Scotch, Welch, and Irish antiquaries, continue to assign

\* "Let us now shew," says he, p. 32, "that the Thracians, Illyrians, Greeks, Italians, Germans, Scandinavians, were all *Scythæ*." Under the name of Greeks, he confounds the Pelasgi with the Hellenes. Dr. Jamieson, by treading closely in Mr. P.'s foot-marks, has greatly injured his learned and valuable work, published 1814, which he miscalled *Hermes Scythicus*. The Scythians, according to Herodotus, knew nothing of *Hermes*: and if they had, could have assigned him no better office than that of a wheel-wright. The striking affinities, which Dr. J. has laboriously investigated, of the Greek and Latin languages to the Gothic, may be sufficiently explained on the principle, that the Pelasgi were the original inhabitants of Thrace, as before intimated; since all that is common to these languages might be of Pelasgic derivation.

A farther development of the Albanian language (in which a version of the New Testament, by aid of the British and Foreign Bible Society, is expected) will probably throw light on this interesting subject. Mr. Leake (*Researches in Greece*, 4to, 1814, ch. 2.) has furnished much valuable information on the Albanians. Dr. Pritchard (*Researches into the Physical History of Man*, 8vo. 1813,) has demonstrated, that the Slavonians, not the Goths, are descendants of the ancient Scythians, pp. 473—519. In most other instances, also, Dr. P.'s historical investigations excel, in literary knowledge and acumen, all modern discussions of similar subjects. He has, likewise, ably demonstrated the natural probability of the scriptural statement, that all nations originated from a single pair: but the facts which he has collected for the purpose, by no means prove, that changes of complexion are generally from darker to lighter colours. The name Adam, signified red; and the first human pair were probably of a medium colour, like most nations that descended from Shem; rather than so pale as the posterity of Japheth, or so dark as that of Ham.

† M. de Penhous, p. 15, quotes from these letters an anecdote, implying that vestiges of the ancient British language are found in the interior of the North of Africa. The lady to whom it referred died last year, and could only remember that the common people at Algiers used several terms resembling Welch for familiar objects; as a bull, a cow, &c. Such terms occur in every Southern language of Europe, and even in Latin and Greek.

to all descendants of the original inhabitants of our islands, the customary appellation of Celts, in distinction from our Saxon, or Gothic population; which, with still more glaring impropriety, is almost as often denominated Scythian.

French antiquaries, as might reasonably be expected, have discovered most reluctance to give up the claim of their ancestors to the original population of Europe. Pelloutier did not fail to answer Schœpflin, in defence of this system; but he did not live to publish his reply. When it appeared in the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, tomes 24, 25, his exposure of the unfairness of his opponent could not avail to re-establish his own hypothesis. The whole of his writings on the subject were, however, reprinted 1770; and those of his antagonists (including a French translation of the *Vindiciæ Celticæ*,) were annexed. The Editor, M. de Chiniac, offered to insert whatever M. Schœpflin might choose to rejoin; but received only this laconic reply: "*Outre mes Vindiciæ Celticæ, je n'ai rien écrit sur cette matière, ayant trouvé bon de m'abandonner à la décision de la République des Lettres, et de ne jamais répliquer.*" We confess ourselves unable to believe, that, sixteen years after the publication of his work, the author remained unconscious of those defects in his argument to which we have adverted; or, that he could be insensible of the perplexities to which his followers were thereby exposed. He could not have had a fairer opportunity, either to explain, or to retract, than that which the editor's candour and politeness proposed to him. Rather than avail himself of it, nevertheless, he left every one to supply as he could, the defective parts of his hypothesis. Hence Michaelis inferred that the Galatians of Asia-Minor were Welch; Mr. Pinkerton, that they were Germans; and Adelung concluded them to be Irish. The latter writer (of whose learned and laborious performance, intitled *Mithridates*, a copious analysis was given in our Twelfth Number,) has injured his glossological arrangements, by adopting Schœpflin's invention of a third original nation in Western Europe. Mr. Pinkerton, by transforming the denominations *Cimmerii* and *Cimbri* to *Cymry*, traced the Welch (as *Celts*), to the ancient Cimmerians as their progenitors. Adelung, knowing that the *Cimbri* (on the contrary) were Germans, but confounding the appellations *Cimbri* and *Cymry*, represented the Celts to have been Irish; and the *Belgæ* (composed of Irish intermixed with *Cimbri*) to be the *Cymry*, or Welch; who, having expelled the Celts from Gaul, pursued them to Britain, and drove them thence to Ireland. He accordingly denominates the Irish language, the Celtic; and the Welch language, the Celto-Germanic. The original population of Ireland is naturally so much connected with that of Britain, as to render the discussion of

either difficult without treating of both. At present, however, we shall endeavour to restrict our investigation wholly to Britain, expecting ere long an occasion of rendering equal justice to the sister island. We would only remark that neither historical nor traditional testimony furnishes any support of Adlung's hypothesis on this subject; and that he has left the origin of the Celts as enigmatical as Schœpflin had made it. He conjectures, indeed, that they passed from Asia to the right bank of the Danube, and ascended it to Gaul; but he does not attempt to trace them from any known oriental nation. This essential deficiency of Schœpflin, which Mr. Pinkerton in vain endeavoured to supply, remains, therefore, incorrigible; and the palpable objection against a distinct nation originating in the West of Europe, retains, and apparently ever must retain, unabated force. If, then, Schœpflin has proved, as is now pretty generally admitted, that Celts, wherever they dwelt, had emigrated thither from Gaul, he has thereby proved them to be, not a radically distinct, but a mixed nation; and the only question is, of *what* other nations they were composed. Two nations, radically different from each other, are proved to have entered Gaul—the Iberians, and the Germans. Of these, whether alone, or with accessions from other nations, the Celts must have been composed; and every ancient testimony concurs to establish the predominance of their German affinity. The reasons which we have assigned for concluding that the Pelasgi, also, contributed to the Celtic population, we submit to the candid judgment of our readers. We apprehend, that part of the Ligurian nation likewise merged in the Celtic; but that *they* were correlative with the Iberians.

In the earliest of the volumes before us, composed by a French officer, by birth and residence a Breton, and well qualified to decide, both by literature and extensive observation, the principal fact on which Schœpflin grounded his hypothesis, is discussed and controverted. M. de Penhouët denies that the Breton language was that of the Celts, or was ever generally used in France, or even throughout the province of Bretagne. Its present limits coincide with a boundary line which a Breton prince, named Eusebius, traced at the close of the fifth century, passing near the extremities of the gulph of Morbihan to the river La Vilaine. Beyond the adjacent parishes of Elven, Sunlac, Beric, Musillac, and Arzal, a dialect is used called the Gallo; unmixed with Breton terms, but retaining many obsolete French words that are found in many scripts of the fourteenth century. As a much earlier specimen of the French language, M. de Penhouët cites an oath which was taken by the subjects of Charlemagne, bearing hardly any resem-

blance of Breton. He adduces the judgment of the learned Benedictines of St. Maur, who wisely declined to pass any positive decision respecting the ancient Celtic language, but apprehended it more to have resembled the Teutonic than the Bas-Breton. Various Celtic terms, when proposed to Bretons, were wholly unintelligible to them. "Nous ne l'avancons," said the Benedictines, "qu'après l'avoir nous-mêmes éprouvé." "Ceux qui s'occupent profondément (adds M. de Penhouët) de la recherche des langues, et dont les ouvrages accrédités parmi les savants de notre siècle attestent l'érudition, sont les vrais juges en pareille circonstance. Je puis donc m'appuyer d'un glossaire nouvellement publié par M. de Roquefort. Les recherches infinies de l'auteur sur la langue romane devaient naturellement l'entraîner à l'étude de la langue des Gaulois; ce qui l'a conduit à s'assurer que le bas breton et le celtique n'étaient pas la même langue."

The two divisions of Bretagne have immemorially been distinguished by their language: lower Brittany being called on the spot la Bretagne bretonnante; and upper Brittany, la Bretagne non bretonnante. M. de Penhouët resides on the boundary of these two districts; and he testifies, "que les paroisses limitrophes des deux pays ne s'entendent pas plus que les habitants de Calais n'entendent ceux de Douvres."

"La ligne de demarcation est cause que, dans les évêchés de Nantes, de Rennes, de Saint Malo, de Saint Brieuc, les noms des lieux ne commencent pas, ainsi que dans la Basse Bretagne, par *ker, pen, tre, llan*; ou du moins cela est si rare, que, s'il s'en trouve de semblables, on peut l'attribuer à des changements de propriétaire.\* Or je vous demande, si vous étendez cette observation au Poitou, à l'Anjou, à la Basse Normandie, pays qui avoisinent la Bretagne, comment pourrez vous croire qu'on y a jadis parlé la même langue?"

This interrogation intimates the epistolary form of M. de Penhouët's discussions, which, though not without some advantages, we think on the whole unfavourable. We should reply to his question, by reminding him, as he spent several years in this country, that such prefixes to names of places, (*caer, llan, tre, pen, &c.*) are as rare in our country as in France, except in Wales and Cornwall; yet we have no room to doubt that by much the greater part of Britain was formerly occupied by tribes

\* In Gregoire de Rostrenen's preface to his *Lexicon Francico-Celticum*, as quoted by Schœpflin (Als. III. p. 96), the Breton language is said to be used, more or less, in seven out of the nine bishoprics of Bretagne; and that it was wholly extinct only in those of Rennes and St. Malo. It was used throughout the dioceses of Trequier and Leon; that of Quimper, with the exception of four parishes; and that of Vannes, excepting 14 or 15 parishes. It was spoken also in 13 or 14 parishes of the diocese of St. Brieuc; in one quarter of that of Nantes; and in several parishes of that of Dol, enclosed in the other bishoprics. The various districts have considerable differences of dialect.

that did not vary in language, more than the recent Cornish, from the Welch. His closing argument, therefore, to be conclusive respecting France, requires, either that the obliteration of the Breton language, if it once generally prevailed, cannot be accounted for by causes similar to those which have obliterated the Welch and Cornish languages in England; or else, supposing similar causes to have operated in both countries, that the retention of the ancient language, notwithstanding their operation, cannot be accounted for in Bas Bretagne, as it may in Wales and Cornwall.

Schœpflin endeavoured to obviate the latter objection to his hypothesis, in a note, p. 93, Als. III.

“Sunt qui Celtici sermonis usum, a Romanis apud Aremoricos abolitum planè fuisse existimant, et nonnisi seculo 5. a Brito-Cambris, quorum ultii, Anglo-Saxonum in Britanniae insulam adventu territi, inde in oppositam Aremoricam fugerant, in eandem Brito-Galliae provinciam postliminò quasi restitutam arbitrantur. Sed, ut huc confugiemus opus non est; si apud Cambros vetus Celtica, Romanis invitis, subsistere potuit, cur non in Aremorica quoque subsistere potuerit?”

In answer to the inquiry, “Why, if the original language of the Britons could subsist among the Welch, in despite of the Romans, could it not likewise in Bretagne,” the proper answer is, that the history of the two countries suffices to show, that it continued always in Wales; but not, that it continued in Bretagne. The very name of the latter implies its occupation by a colony from Britain, the natives of which were never so called, but from the name of the island. No ancient writer placed any tribe of that denomination in the north western part of Gaul. It was called, not Britannia, but Armorica. Cæsar repeatedly enumerates seven states by which it was occupied, though he varies in some of their names. The Veneti, or people of Vannes, the Curiosolitæ of Quimper, the Ossismii of Brest, the Rhedones on the Vilaine, and the Unelli near St. Malo, were five of these states: to which were added (de Bello Gall. ii. 35,) the Sesuvii and the Auleri, or the Caletes and the Semovices, (ib. vii. 69,) to make up the number. For these, and the Unelli, M. de Penhouët substitutes the Namnetes, or people of Nantz, the Brivates, who seem to have been included in the Ossismii, and the Diablintes, whose situation is disputable. The country now forms the five departments of Ille et Vilaine, Cotes du Nord, Finisterre, Morbihan, and Loire Inferieure.

The Welch Archaeology, (published at the beginning of the present century, though little use has hitherto been made of the ancient British documents comprised in it,) best illustrates those fragments of our early history which occur in classical writers. The historical triad, of which there are 126, vol. i.

pp. 57—75, are in this view peculiarly valuable. They apprise us, that the original inhabitants of Britain consisted of three principal tribes, which successively emigrated hither from Gaul. First, the Cymry, or people of Wales, who crossed the Môrtawch, or Hazy Sea; that is, northward of the Strait of Dover, but probably near it: secondly, the Lloegrwys, from Gwasgwyn, Gasconne, or the coast southward from the Loire; after whom the Welch still name England, Lloegr, as having been mostly occupied by them; and from whom the recent Cornish descended: and thirdly, the Brython, (or warriors) seemingly a branch of the Cymry, who maintained their ground in the north of Gaul much later than the first colony. These settled north of the Humber, and spread over the Scotch low-lands. They all used the same original language, but with striking diversities between the Welch and Cornish dialects, the latter of which more closely resembled the Bâs-Breton.

The Armorican states appear to have been more mercantile than all others in Gaul. They imported tin from Britain, during the interval between the destruction of Carthage and the conquest of Gaul by the Romans; and Diodorus Siculus states that they fetched it from Belerium (St. Michael's Mount,) where the Britons collected it for the purpose; having probably been accustomed to the practice, while visited by the Phenicians and Carthaginians. Such intercourse with the Veneti seem to have given occasion to the exertions of the Britons, in alliance with them, against the Romans, as related by Cæsar, B. G. iii. 7—16. The fourteenth Welch triad, which is incomparably the longest, furnishes some details of this transaction. It was conducted by Caswallawn (Cassivelaunus, the elective military sovereign of the Britons,) and by Gwenwynwyn and Gwana, sons of his father's sister; and was draughted from Essyllog, the Netherland of Galedin, and the allied Bylwennwys. The last were the Boulognois, the only people of Gaul whom any ancient writer has called Britanni; being probably a remnant of the Brython, that did not emigrate with the rest. Essyllog was properly the district of the Silures, but might here be used more comprehensively. Galedin is the Welch appellation for the Netherlands; but the improbability that the Armoricans should have been supported by tribes so distantly situated, might have involved the triad in suspicion, if Cæsar had not confirmed so remarkable a fact. "*Socios sibi ad id bellum Osismios, Lexobios, Nannetes, Ambianos, Morinos, Diablintes, Menapios adsciscunt; auxilia ex Britannia, quæ contra eas regiones posita est, accersunt.*" (B. G. iii. 9.) Only the first named state is ever called Armorican. The Menapii occupied Dutch Brabant, and the Morini resided about Bononia, or Boulogne. This evidence of

precision in the triad, where it might have been least expected, encourages reliance where similar confirmation is unattainable.

The Veneti having killed the messengers by whom Cæsar summoned them to submit, he depopulated their territory; slaughtering their leaders, and selling the common people as slaves. (iii. 16.) So the triad asserts, that not an individual of the British auxiliaries returned, but that the survivors remained among the Romans in Gascogne; \* being probably sold for slaves, like the Veneti. We certainly should not (from historical evidence) expect, that the Celtic language would be retained unmixed in a country that underwent such desolation, as it was obliterated in every other part of Gaul. Schœpflin, in his eagerness to identify the Bas-Breton with the Celtic, seems to have forgotten both the fact already stated, and another (which is recorded in the same triad) to which M. de Penhouët refers, saying, "C'est à cette événement qu'est dû le passage en Bretagne d'un prince Breton, qui le premier régna sur nos ancêtres, alors fatigués du joug de Rome, et qui saisirent les premiers l'occasion de le secouer" (P. 3).

Maximian, who usurped the Western empire, A. D. 383, acquired great popularity during his government of Britain, married a noble princess of Eborac, and was elected as military sovereign by the Britons, who name him (on that account) *Maesfen Wledig*. The whole force of the island, conducted by his wife's brother, Cynan, Lord of Meiriadawc, accompanied him to Gaul, to establish his pretensions to the imperial dignity. His cause succeeded. Cynan was rewarded with the sovereignty of the territory, since called Bretagne, and apparently so named from the *apoche*. No part of his army ever returned to Britain; but it had probably been much diminished in the contest, and might not be sufficiently numerous to produce, alone, any essential difference in the language of the country, which was likely then to be, as in the rest of Gaul, a latinized Celtic. In the next and the two following centuries, however, the proportions of the native and the British population were materially changed, by innumerable fugitives of Cynry and Lloegrwys, especially of the latter, from the victorious and ferocious Saxons. Events which obliterated the dialect of the Lloegrwys in England, suffice to account for the establishment of it in Bas-Bretagne; which might remain, from the time of its desolation by the Romans, less populous than other parts of Gaul. The refugees could not hesitate to apply for shelter to an independent power of their own nation on the opposite coast; and their numbers

\* Not in *Llydaw*, which is the Welch appellation of *Aremorica*: so that this party could not contribute to the British population of the latter.



doubtless contributed to its permanence, during the subjugation of the rest of Gaul to foreign invaders. Charlemagne, we are told by Asser, acquired the whole of France, except Bretagne. So crowded a population ensured the preservation of their language; but it never extended to Upper Bretagne. That district seems to have been assigned to the native inhabitants: and as it remained alike independent of the Franks, its Patois, the *Gallo*, is probably the most genuine representative of the Celtic, subsequent to its change by the dominion of the Romans. When M. de Penhouët asserts, p. 5, “que le Gallo n’offre point de mots du Bâs-breton,” we do not interpret his expressions as excluding from the Gallo such terms as the Bâs-breton has in common with the French language, which are numerous; neither, when these are also common to the Latin, do we conclude that they must have been derived by the Gallic, any more than by the British dialects, from that source. Such terms, in fact, are common to all languages of Southern Europe, the Greek itself not wholly excepted: and they indicate a general mixture of some original language, almost as evidently as the languages of Northern European countries demonstrate their common derivation from the Gothic.

Hence Schoepflin’s discovery of terms in the Patois of Alsace, that resembled those of the Bâs-breton, by no means proved that dialect ever to have been generally used throughout Gaul. It only implied some language to have been so, to which the Bâs-breton, and other British dialects, retained affinities. To *that* language, we have already intimated the Iberian and the Ligurian languages to have belonged; and that, mingled with the Teutonic and the Pelasgic, it probably constituted the Celtic speech. With these also, but more impregnated with Greek, it formed the Latin: and together with the Latin the langue d’oye (oui) or French; the langue d’oc, or Romanese; and the langue is, or Italian. We apprehend it to have formed the substance both of the Ligurian and Iberian languages; but in the former to have become mixed with the Celtic, and in the latter with the Punic; which, jointly with the Libyan, constituted the Cantabrian language. Of all these, very strongly impregnated with Latin, and partially with Arabic terms, the Spanish and Portuguese languages were formed, the latter of which also had evident accessions from the French. We distinguish those terms which we apprehend to have been derived by all the southern languages of Europe, and by the ancient British dialects, from the same original, as independent of another original language, to which the northern and the southern languages of Europe, in common, are indebted. The latter appears to have been either the *Sanskrit*, or one, from which the *Sanskrit* itself was de-

rived. We apprehend it to have belonged to the family of Madai, the only son of Japheth (Tubal perhaps excepted) whose posterity have almost wholly remained in Asia. The Lunar race of Hindustan appear to have descended from him. The Zend and the Pehlavi were dialects of the same language. The Hindoos acknowledge that they received their mythology from the north-west. The Sigynnæ, who in the time of Herodotus nomadised in the same countries where the Zigeuner (whom we call Gypsies) have always most abounded, asserted that they were Medes. They still use a corrupt dialect of the Sungskrit, and are probably correlative with the ancient Singani of Multan, the Sancha-dwipa of the Vedas.

On the grounds that we have assigned, we fully agree with M. de Penhouët, that neither the Bâs-breton, nor any other British dialect, represents the ancient Celtic language; but we apprehend both the Welch and the ancient Cornish to have been ingredients in its composition, though in inferior proportion to the Teutonic. We apprehend him to have been misled by Bochart (who, though an excellent Oriental scholar, knew nothing of the ancient British,) and other respectable antiquaries, in his endeavours to derive the Welch language from the Phenician. We cannot, however, follow at present, either his discussion of this subject, or his more interesting description of ancient monuments in Bretagne. We are glad to perceive the inhabitants intent on researches into these stupendous remains, whether of their direct ancestors, or of remoter date: and we strongly recommend to them to furnish measurements, plans, and geometrical elevations of the whole. These render invaluable Dr. Stukeley's works on Abury and Stone-henge, while his hypothesis of their Phenician construction has sunk into merited oblivion. We see no room whatever to doubt the fact recorded in the Welch chronicles, however mingled with fiction, that Stone-henge was erected by the Britons, in commemoration of their chiefs who were assassinated on the spot by the Saxons. The much grander work at Abury is evidently many centuries older, and appears to have been a vast amphitheatre adapted for national assemblies. Silbury Hill was one of its appendages, and probably contained the corpse of its royal founder. We conjecture him to have been Prydain, from whom our island was named.

On early British history, both civil and ecclesiastical, more light is thrown by Mr. Hughes's work, than by any other in our language, though his materials are rather compiled than selected, and are deficient of lucid arrangement. His pretensions are modest, and his principles exemplary. We hope that he will meet with encouragement to execute his purpose of translating all the ancient British historical triads. If with these, he

collates the Welch chronicles, discriminating the facts, as supported by the triads, from the fictions purposely interwoven with them, he will supply an important desideratum in British archæology. We strongly recommend what he has performed to the candid attention of our readers.

In a brief comment on one of the British triads, (of which we hope to have occasion for ampler discussion from Mr. Hughes's intended version of these venerable documents,) it is said that the Cymry came from the place where Constantinople then stood. *Byzantium* was doubtless meant by the commentator. Nennius uses this not-infrequent corruption of *Byzacium* in Africa. The triads place the spot in the land of Hâv, or of Summer, (whence, perhaps, Africa,) and call it Deffrobani, or the head-lands of *Deffro*. The principal port, in the territory of Byzacium, was Taphrura, probably *Taphru-ras* (or *rus*) the usual name of an African headland: and the Welch chroniclers describe their ancestors as sailing along the coast, thence westward, till they bore away to *Ligustica*. It is manifestly of the Lloegrian, not the Cymraeg colonists, that the chronicles treat: and the coincidence tends to confirm the identity of the Lloegrwys (or Lloegwys) with the Ligures (or Ligyes) who were driven from the estuary of the Liger to Britain, by the Pictones, or Picts; from whom the country adjacent retains the names Poictou and Poitiers; and the people are still called Poictevins.

A rational and critical discussion of the original population of our country, appears to us so congenial with the objects of the British Review, that we will not apologize for having thus far called our readers' attention to the subject. The materials that ought to be condensed and adjusted, to complete the argument, are much too copious for our present use. We hope to find that a future recurrence to the inquiry will not be unacceptable; and shall, therefore, barely attempt the shortest possible connexion of our remarks on the volumes before us, with our introductory general view of European origins. We take the Welch, or *Cymry*, the earliest colonists of Britain, to have advanced to the north of Gaul, from Spain, and originally from Africa; being probably *Maurusii*, or Mor-wys, and certainly *Cynetæ* or *Cynesii*. The recent Cornish, or *Lloegrwys*, who followed them to Britain from the estuary of the Loire, came across Gaul, from Italy; whither they passed from the opposite coast of Africa, and were probably Numidian *Massyli*, but undoubtedly *Ligurians*. These tribes, in their different routes, (if not previously,) contracted much diversity of dialect, especially of pronunciation: the Welch having no sibilant sound but that of our sharp *s*, while the Cornish used all the sibilants with which our own language so remarkably abounds; as *s*, *z*, *sh*, *zh*, (like *s* before *u*, in *measure*, &c.) *ch* and *j*,

or *g* soft: yet the language of both the tribes was essentially the same. The Cymry withdrew to Wales and the north-western counties; and the Lloegrwys occupied the southern and eastern districts. The third colony, called *Brython*, which passed from Flanders to North Britain, we suppose to have been expelled from the Continent by the Belgic German invasion; the Lloegrwys by the Celtic Germans;\* and the Cymry probably by the yet earlier Tirasenes, or Pelasgic emigrants. The Brython spread from York northward to Aberdeen, and were ancestors of the Strath-clwyd Britons, who retained their independence till the tenth century. Each of these tribes was subdivided into many smaller, which were often mutually hostile; but a general government among them was established by Prydain, King of the Silures, from whom the whole island was, therefore, called (as the Welch still name it) Prydain.<sup>x</sup> From this name, the Greeks formed that of *Bretannicé*; and the Romans, *Britannia*: and both called the inhabitants (of whatever nation) Britons. The name Albion, which also the Greeks used, probably originated with the Lloegrwys; as it was that of the Ligurian metropolis in Italy, now Albenga.

Gaul seems to have been first, and fully, occupied by Iberian and Ligurian colonies, differing less from each other than both from the Byzacians, who probably deprived them of Cantabria and Gascoyne. The Celtic invasion from Germany overwhelmed all but the last-mentioned of the districts of Gaul; and by a change somewhat like that which the Saxons afterwards produced in our own country, formed the Celtic nation. A tribe resembling that by which the Lloegrwys had been driven to Britain, subsequently arriving in North Britain, was by them denominated Picts; as being evidently Germans, whether Pictones, or others. The Welch called them sometimes Picts, sometimes Celyddon; whence the Romans named them Caledones. They seem first to have occupied the north-western coast of Scotland; but afterwards to have removed to the Grampian Hills, to make room for a colony from Ireland, whose alliance with them gave rise to the distinctions of Caledones and Vecturiones, or of Southern and Northern Picts. All these colonies, together with the Corranaiid, (probably Carini, from Sleswick,) who established themselves on the shores of the Humber, preceded the settlements of the Belgæ in Britain.

The Roman conquests in Britain were commensurate with the extent of its primary population. All the Iberian and Belgic inhabitants submitted: and the former, who had previously been harassed by the German and Irish colonists of North

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\* The Chronicles which were composed in the 11th century, by Lloegrian refugees in Bretagne, suppress the distinctions of tribes, and the history of Prydain, for purposes sufficiently apparent.

Britain, became, after being subjugated to Rome, still more exposed to their intrusion. The Caledonians, leaving the Grampian mountains to their Irish allies (whose boundary then became *Drim Uachtar*, in Perthshire), took possession of the eastern low-lands; and were restrained by the wall of Severus, only while it was guarded by Romans. The northern (or Irish) Picts, were joined, in the third century of our era, by another party from Ireland, who seized possession of Argyle, retaining the appellation of Scots, by which the inhabitants of Ireland were then commonly known. Early in the fifth century, the Southern (or Caledonian) Picts were subdued by their former allies, the Vecturiones, or Northern Picts; who afterwards repelled their own countrymen, the Scots, to Ireland. These, however, recovered Argyle about the close of the same century; having in the mean time embraced the profession of Christianity, which had recently been spread throughout Ireland, by the ministry of Patric, a Northern Briton. Another, named Ninian, about the same time, brought the Southern Picts to receive the Gospel. The Northern (then the reigning) Picts were converted by Columba (or Colm) from Ireland, A. D. 565. The Scots becoming united under the same government with them, in 843, it then received the title of the Scottish Monarchy: and the Irish population of North Britain being no longer divided, has since, in general, been called Gaelic; as *Gaoithelic* is pronounced; the aspirated mutes, though sounded by the Welch, being suppressed by the Irish. The ancient British have always called them *Gwydnyl*. The Gaelic is still spoken throughout one half of Scotland; but the Highland population is now much smaller than that of the Lowland Scots, who are evidently descendants of the Caledonians. The pronunciation of these is still purely German: but their dialect, in other respects, has been much assimilated to English, by their intermixture with Saxons and Normans (of whom, great numbers took refuge from the despotism of the English court, in that of the Scottish monarchs), as well as by the common use of English as the written language.

The Mæso-Gothic translation of the Gospels, made by Ulphilas, in the fourth century, hardly differs more than our Anglo-Saxon version of the ninth century, from modern German. The latter, therefore, cannot have varied, in substance, from what it was at the commencement of our era. The Cymraeg Manuscripts, also, which, though published but recently, bear internal marks of antiquity (from the twelfth century upwards, to the probable epoch of the language being first commonly used in writing), are still mostly intelligible to a moderate Welch scholar. They imply, that the dialect of the

Silures, or Southern Cymry, was generally written; and it appears probable, that the colloquial language of the Cymry and the Brython, differed hardly more than the modern dialects of North and South Wales. That of Powys, the third usual division of the principality, in some measure approximated to the ancient Cornish, which was that of the Lloegrwys. Tacitus's comparison of the British language with that of the Æstyî admits of elucidation from the hypothesis here imperfectly sketched, which it cannot, we conceive, derive from any other. The modern Esthes, the undoubted descendants of the Æstyî, use two dialects of the Feunite (or Moschite) language: one that of Reval, the other that of Dorpat; in each of which a version of the Scriptures has lately been made. The people who use the latter, call themselves and their country by a name similar to that of the Ligurian tribe in Italy, whose capital was named Albion. They extended to the Adriatic, till they were invaded by the Veneti; and they might, on that occasion, or afterwards, partly emigrate into Germany, and become attached to the Æstyî. From Tacitus's representation, the Euganei, or Enganni (as they were called in Italy), appear then to have retained their Ligurian dialect; which he distinguished as having nearer affinity to that of the British Lloegrwys, than to the Celtic at that period. The Dorpatian Esthes still call themselves Eggauni, and their country Engannia; and their dialect varies considerably from that of Reval.

We cannot pursue farther our inquiry into the colloquial language of Britain, prior and subsequent to the Roman Conquest; although some light on this much controverted subject might be derived from the published British documents. We cannot, however, conclude, without remarking, that these clearly determine, both the time, and the manner, in which Christianity was first planted in Britain; of which Mr. Hughes has given an authentic and interesting abstract, in his second volume, pp. 19—23. It wholly supersedes the traditions, conjectures, and forgeries, which so long and generally prevailed, on this most important topic of British history; and by fully establishing the fact, that our country has been constantly favoured with the light of the Gospel from nearly the middle of the first century, calls for our most lively gratitude, and our most diligent endeavours universally to diffuse its benefits.

## ART. XX.—MORAL AND RELIGIOUS STATE OF THE EAST.

1. *Travels along the Mediterranean and Paris adjacent, in company with the Earl of Belmore, during the Years 1816-17-18, extending as far as the Second Cataract of the Nile, Jerusalem, Damascus, Balbec, &c. &c. Illustrated by Plans and other Engravings.* By Robert Richardson, M. D. 8vo. 2 vols. Cadell. London, 1822.
2. *Christian Researches in the Mediterranean, from MDCCCXV. to MDCCCXX. in furtherance of the Objects of the Church Missionary Society.* By the Rev. William Jowett, M. A. 8vo. (With two Maps.) Seeley. London, 1822.

EGYPT is undoubtedly to be considered one of the first of the great kingdoms, which were formed after the dispersion of mankind. The colonies, that migrated thence, were the means of civilizing no small portion of the world: and the numerous remains of ancient art, which have recently been brought to light by the enterprising researches of travellers, in addition to the almost imperishable memorials of former times, which have frequently been described, concur to impart a considerable interest to every new work, which professes to give an account of them. Of the discoveries of Mr. Belzoni we not long since presented an abstract to our readers: and though Dr. Richardson's volumes relate in part to the track pursued by that enterprising traveller, yet he has noticed many things which have escaped Mr. B.'s attention; and that portion of his work which relates to the Holy Land is replete with interesting details. The length of time, during which Dr. Richardson resided in the East, and the opportunities he enjoyed as travelling physician to the Earl of Belmore, have enabled him to collect a considerable portion of valuable, and in some respects new information respecting this often described country.

Mr. Jowett's "*Christian Researches in the Mediterranean*," (which are accompanied by two neat maps,) relate principally, as the title of his volume implies, to the state of religion in the East; and will be found but little inferior to the celebrated "*Christian Researches in India*" of the late Rev. Dr. Buchanan, of which a copious analysis will be found in a former volume of our journal.\* At his suggestion, the Church Missionary Society adopted the plan of sending to the Mediterranean a Literary Representative. Their choice fell on Mr. Jowett, who, during his late visit to this country for the renovation of his health,

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\* See *British Review*, vol. ii. p. 231-269.

employed part of his time in selecting and arranging the present volume, from the valuable materials which a five years' absence in the Mediterranean and the East had enabled him to collect. A journal of a residence in some parts of the East, by the Rev. James Connor, (while in the service of the society,) is annexed by way of appendix.

In order that we may present to our readers an outline of the information comprised in these volumes, we shall first give an abstract of Dr. Richardson's route, and of such coincident circumstances as are noticed by Mr. Jowett, and shall then present a summary view of their observations on the moral and religious state of the inhabitants of the East.

The Earl of Belmore and his family (including Dr. Richardson) sailed from Southampton on the 21st of August, 1816, and reached Alexandria on the 7th of September in the following year, having seen every thing worthy of note at Gibraltar, Malta, Naples, the principal islands of the Mediterranean, and Constantinople. Dr. Richardson has shown his judgment by confining his lively notices of places, so often and so well described by preceding travellers, within the short compass of *twelve* pages.

Alexandria, the latest, if not the greatest heathen capital of Egypt, and the first that ever a foreign conqueror planted on its soil, is now in ruins. War has levelled its once stately towers, and broken down its walls; and the wind from the desert has laid it under a heap of sand; so that scarcely a single fragment that now appears, can be referred to its own original. Dr. Richardson perambulated the ancient remains of this once celebrated place, the most interesting of which, perhaps, are the catacombs. The proper entrance to these subterraneous abodes is unknown: the passage by which he penetrated into them has its aperture towards the sea; and seems like the entrance into a grotto.

" On arriving at the spot, we paused a little in the narrow passage to light our torches, and perform the customary prelude ceremony of firing off a musket, and the still more uncommon one of sounding a bugle-horn, to announce to the jackals and bats, the disgusting tenants of these abodes, that they were to be visited by human beings. Then each of us, armed with a lighted candle, and preceded by our guide, crawled along on our hands and feet for about twenty yards, under the horizontal stratum of calcareous rock. The first chamber that we entered into, was about ten feet square, and rather low in the roof; it contained a number of bones, and was pervaded by a damp unwholesome smell. The next chamber that we entered was larger, and higher in the roof, contained many more bones, and sarcophagi cut in the side of the floor for the reception of the dead; and was equally damp with the first. The third chamber was half full



of sand, and showed the entrance into a fourth, which may be called the state chamber; the door of which was adorned with doric pilasters, and a pediment, in the centre of which was a coarse half-finished globe, surmounted by a crescent. This chamber is round, with three recesses, one fronting the door, and one on each hand; but contained no bones, no stony excavations in the form of sarcophagi, and very little sand. The other chambers that we entered were perfectly choked up with sand, and we moved on frequently in contact with the ceiling."

"The form of these chambers, the doors, pilasters, and stone troughs, or sarcophagi, show them to be entirely Grecian; in size and proportion they are fully equal to the Egyptian catacombs, in other parts of the country; but in the fitting up, decorations, or even preservation, they are not once to be named in comparison with the latter." (Vol. i. pp. 19—21.)

An insignificant fortress now occupies the site of the once celebrated light-house, that stood on the extremity of the west side of the northern or great harbour; the wharf contiguous to which presents an active scene of ships building, vessels loading, with heaps of grain and bales of goods piled up along the shore. The population of modern Alexandria consists of about 14,000 inhabitants; who dwell in narrow, dirty streets, in an atmosphere made most oppressively sultry by the constant action of a burning sun upon the uncovered rock and sand which surround this city, wherein the plague rages for nearly nine months in the year.

Embarking at Alexandria on board a *djerm*, (a vessel built expressly for carrying grain, and for the navigation between Alexandria and Rosetta,) the travellers proceeded up the Nile, to Rosetta; whence, transferring themselves and their effects to a *maash*, a large vessel constructed for the carriage of goods and passengers, they sailed to Bulac, the port of Cairo. The inundation of the Nile was now at its ordinary height, and diffused fertility over the parched soil. On their arrival at Cairo, Mr. Salt, the British consul-general, gave them a hospitable reception; and Dr. Richardson availed himself of the opportunity afforded him by a short residence to acquire the knowledge of the most necessary Arabic words,—a task which he recommends to future travellers, for the conveniences which it will enable them to procure, and for the facility with which it may be obtained. His account of Old and New Cairo is drawn up in a lively and pleasing style; but it adds little to the descriptions of former travellers. The bazaars, which are numerous, are neither so commodious nor so large as those of Constantinople and Damascus: each species of goods has its own class of bazaars, which are occupied by Turkish, Arab, Greek, Coptic, Jewish, and Armenian merchants; of whom the first and last-mentioned are generally the most upright and agreeable to deal with.

"The Turks, being masters of the country, are superior to all, both in wealth and dignity, yet the Arabs constitute by far the greatest part of the population, both in Cairo, and throughout the whole of Egypt and Syria, and their language is the vernacular tongue in both countries. Notwithstanding which, and their being of the same religion with the Turks, they enjoy no offices of emolument, and are kept nearly in as much subjection as the Copts or Greeks, though they are at least in the proportion of twenty to one, or more. The Armenians are numerous, and entirely engaged in trade, and bear the character of a respectable industrious people. I entered one of their churches on a week day; it was well attended; their behaviour was devout, and becoming a house of prayer. They are dissentients from the Greek church; they keep Lent rigidly, but eat flesh on Fridays. They deny purgatory, and the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son: they pray for the dead, and rebaptize converts from the church of Rome. The secular clergy must all be married before they are admitted to holy orders, but are not allowed to marry a second time.

"The Armenians are favourably situated in Egypt at present, on account of one of their countrymen being the interpreter, and one of the confidential advisers of the Pasha. This gentleman once had the misfortune to fall under the displeasure of his master, by refusing to lend him money, and was consigned to the executioner, to put him into a sack, and drown him in the Nile. He was met on his way to the place of execution, and saved by the intervention of two intrepid friends, who remonstrated with the Pasha upon the injustice of the sentence, and had it revoked. The worthy gentleman was pardoned, and reinstated in his former office, and loves and serves with fidelity the man who had unjustly ordered him to be put to death.

"The number of Jews in Cairo was differently stated at three, four, five, or six thousand. But I am disposed to think that the highest number is considerably under the truth. They are an industrious people, and are chiefly engaged in small traffic, as in this country; but many of them being able to read, write, and cipher, are employed in the different offices of government. They have seven synagogues in Cairo; five of which I visited in company with Elias, who had been himself in the employ of the Pasha till the failure of his eye-sight compelled him to relinquish it. In witnessing a circumcision, which is performed by the priest on the eighth day, as prescribed in the Law of Moses, I was astonished to find that the mother carries the child in her arms, and lays him down on the table or altar for the operation. In conversing with them on the danger and impropriety of requiring such a service of the mother, they assured me, that it never was attended with any inconvenience, and that it was a practice that mothers would on no account give up. The latter part of the statement I as readily believe, as I doubt and disbelieve the former.

"The Copts are generally considered as the legitimate remains of the ancient Egyptians, as retaining in their features, and even in their name, proofs of their descent from that great and wonderful

people. Though I must be permitted to say, that neither in their features nor in their complexion have they the smallest resemblance to the figures of the ancient Egyptians that are represented in the tombs at Thebes, or any other part of Egypt that I ever visited. There are about 8000 of them in Cairo; and throughout the whole of Egypt inclusive, about 25,000. Prior to the Persian conquest, Egypt possessed a population of 7,000,000: all of them, it is presumed, Egyptians. That three-and-twenty hundred years of bondage and persecution should have reduced them to their present number, is not so surprising as that they should, notwithstanding all their changes of masters, have remained a distinct people. Latterly, the Christian religion, the strongest cement of society, has knit them together in one bond of union, and placed an insurmountable barrier between them and their present masters. The same distinction obtained, in a certain degree, between them and their Persian conquerors. But this was not the case under the Greeks, who were themselves a colony from Egypt. The Ptolemies repaired their temples, presented their offerings on the same altars, and worshipped the same deities with them. The Egyptians adopted their alphabet, and probably much of their language: their own is now completely lost. They never appear to have amalgamated so well with the Romans, under whose government they made several efforts to recover their independence. After their conversion to Christianity they appear to have formed one sect with the Greeks and Romans, and the national distinction must have been then greatly sunk, and the present Copts are probably a mixture of the ancient Egyptians with those inhabitants of the country, who embraced that religion at the same time with themselves." (Vol. i. p. 87—91)

The Earl of Belmore was presented to Mohammed Ali, the present Pasha of Egypt, of which interview Dr. Richardson has given an animated narrative.

The following particulars respecting this fortunate adventure are new to us, and will probably be equally novel to our readers.

"He is a native of Romanin, and entered the Turkish service as a soldier of fortune. His spirited and gallant conduct soon attracted the notice of his superiors, and procured him promotion. He joined the army of the Grand Seignior that was destined to act against the Mamelukes in Egypt, who affected to govern that country independently of the Porte. The result is well known; the Beys were expelled from Egypt and Nubia, into the kingdom of Dongala, where they at present reside, with but very slender hopes of ever recovering their former possessions. Mahomed Ali came to be commander and chief of the army, and finally was confirmed in his present elevated situation.

"The first object of the new Viceroy was to establish the internal tranquillity of the country, and to reduce the power of the soldiers, who had become licentious in the extreme; both of which he has completely effected. The traveller may now visit every corner of

Egypt unmolested ; he may go, with his money in his hand, from one end of it to the other ; no person will take it from him by violence, and murder is almost unknown." (Vol. i. p. 102—103.)

"This intelligent Viceroy, at the age of forty, could neither read nor write ; since which he has learned to do both, though, as might well have been expected, [he] is no great proficient in either. This would be an indelible disgrace in modern Europe ; but the whole history of the Turkish empire sufficiently evinces that a knowledge of letters is not necessary to govern men. A certain dexterity in managing the horse and arms of a soldier, in firing with precision at a mark, throwing the djerid, playing skilfully with the sword, joined to address and shrewdness in conversation, with a prompt decisive character in action, are qualifications which in these countries open a road to certain promotion ; and with all these his Highness of Egypt is amply endowed, and upon these he lives, the boast and terror of his people. He acted the part of an able general in restoring the discipline of the army, in suppressing banditti, and in establishing the tranquillity of the country ; but his internal regulations evince him to be an unwise and illiberal governor, and but ill calculated to promote the happiness of his people, or the prosperity of Egypt. He proceeds upon the absurd principle, that men are made for kings and rulers ; that all the men, women, and children, all the land, and every thing that it produces, are his property ; that his subjects have no rights that they can call their own ; they are the menials of his family, bound to serve him.—all their labour, and all the produce of the soil are his, for a scanty allowance of food and clothing, which he graciously concedes to them ; the ground is all his ; and he seems determined to reduce the sheikhs, or master tenants, and feliahs, all to one level, that they may all work to him for hire, and have no ground or property which they can call their own. There is a capitation tax, and a tax upon the water-wheels, and upon sheep, goats, and black cattle, of which by and by he will be the sole possessor. He is the sole merchant in the country ; all the trade of it is in his hands. He furnishes the shoemaker with leather, who cuts it and makes it into shoes, and when they are made, carries them to the agent of the Pasha, who pays him so much a day for his labour ; the shoes are then deposited in a general store, out of which they are sold to the public, and the Pasha pockets the money that should revert to the industrious tradesman, to feed and clothe his family, and to lighten his labour. The same thing is done in regard to the cloth manufactories. He provides the weaver with the yarn, who, when he has finished his web, takes it to the agent of the Pasha, who pays him at the rate of so much a day for his labour, generally half a piastre, which is threepence of our money ; the cloth is then put into a general store, and sold out for the benefit of the Pasha ; it is all regularly stamped, and no person can or dare sell it but his agents. Such are the regulations which he wishes to establish universally, and which forcibly evince that one science only will one genius fit. Mahomed Ali may be a good soldier, but he is a wretched governor ; a perfect infant in political economy : his regulations may do on a small scale between master

and slave, or under a patriarchal age, but they can never make a great or a happy people; for they are founded on the avaricious and contracted views of an individual whom they are intended to enrich, by impoverishing and degrading to the rank of beasts those whom it is his duty to cherish, and to lift up to the stature of humanity. He may hold the only purse in the country, and be accounted the one-eyed monarch of the blind; but he can never reign in the hearts of his subjects, nor bless the land with joyful abundance.

“But it must be observed, that as all happiness is relative, so is all misery, and the land of Egypt enjoys more advantages under its present master, than it has experienced for many years under any of his predecessors. The canals are deepened, yielding facilities for commerce, and an abundant supply of water for man and beast, and all the important purposes of agriculture. The roving Bedouens are compelled to pay tribute, to live in their tents, and to pasture their flocks quietly along the edge of the desert, without pilfering from or molesting their peaceful neighbours in the villages.

“He has established manufactures of sugar, gunpowder, saltpetre, indigo, cotton, &c. which are under the direction of properly qualified Europeans; of these he is almost exclusively the sole proprietor, and no person is permitted to found any rival establishment. Having met with considerable difficulty in procuring properly qualified persons to superintend his manufactories, he has sent a number of his own subjects to Europe to study at Genoa, Leghorn, and Milan, the different branches that he wishes to cultivate; some of these have visited England: after a certain period of years, they are to return to Egypt, superintend the operations of the Pasha, and teach their countrymen what they have learned themselves. Some of them are specially devoted to the study of mineralogy, as an examination of the mineral kingdom, the finding of gold and emerald mines, is an object that the ruler of Egypt has much at heart; all his views centre in himself, and in the accumulation of wealth. But the education of the youth is a plan that will probably extend itself, and in the end benefit the country; and science and civilization may yet revisit their ancient seat.” (Vol. i. p. 106—109.)


The often described pyramids of Gheesa, or Ghiza, were the principal objects of curiosity, during the author's residence at Cairo: after surveying them, he proceeded with his noble patron on a voyage into Upper Egypt, passing in their way the ruins of Antinopolis, and the village of Alairamoun to Osyout, (by preceding travellers variously called Siout, Siut, and Assiut,) the Grecian Lycopolis, and the present capital of Upper Egypt. In the absence of Ibrahim Pasha, the step-son of the reigning Pasha of Egypt, the travellers were favourably received by the Defterdar Bey, the son-in-law of the latter. Osyout is a large town, finely situated at the distance of about one mile from the western bank of the Nile; it contains about 20,000 inhabitants. Many of the houses are two stories high, but the apartments

are small and ill lighted. The accommodation for the poor consists of a mud wall, frequently destitute of any covering; which incloses a circular space about ten feet in diameter: the streets are narrow and irregular, and deeply covered with sand and dust.

Embarking on board their vessels, the party sailed up the Nile to Kau Alkarab, or the ruined Kau, the Antæopolis of the Greeks, of whose splendid edifices many fragments still remain; thence they proceeded to Ikhmin, (the ancient Chemmis,) which is pleasantly situated on the eastern side of the river; from which it is distant about a mile and a half. It contains about 10,000 inhabitants, of whom 300 are Catholics, 1200 Coptic Christians, and the remainder are Mussulmans. Passing Girgeh, they next anchored opposite the celebrated temple of Dendera or Dandāra, (the Tentyra of the Romans.) It is half an hour's ride from the river: the road to it lies through an uncultivated flat, intersected by several canals from the Nile.

"The scene of ruins is nearly a mile square, and consists of houses of unburnt brick, that have been repeatedly overturned, and at every restoration the new houses have been built on the top of the rubbish of the old; a very uncertain foundation, if the structure were of large dimensions, and reared of heavy materials; but where the huts are small, and low, and composed of sun-dried brick made of cut straw and clay, the solidity of the foundation was not so much an object with the builder as the facility with which he could construct a fabric for his habitation. Hence came many of the large mounds which are found around most of the ancient temples, and the site of ancient towns; they are the result of much havoc and disaster that befel the inhabitants of the land.

"The ruined town of Dandāra has been partly built of burnt, and partly of unburnt brick, and the remains of many small huts crowd the summit of the temple itself, which are, of course, very modern productions. The first thing that attracts the eye of the traveller, on the edge of this black field of ruins, is a small square stone building with four columns; it has an unfinished appearance, and is without hieroglyphics. It is difficult to say for what purpose this edifice was intended; it looks like a porter's lodge, or habitation for the guardian of the precincts of the temple: and I should not have mentioned it at all, had it not been constructed of the same species of sand-stone with the temple itself; and as these must have been brought thither from a great distance, and at a great expense, it is probable that this insignificant fabric was connected with it for religious purposes. Advancing from this, for several hundred yards among the brick ruins, we came to an elegant gateway, or propylon, which is also of sand-stone, well hewn, and completely covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics, remarkably well cut. Immediately over the centre of the doorway is the beautiful Egyptian ornament usually called the globe, with serpent and wings, emblematic of the glorious sun poised in the airy fir-

ament of heaven, supported and directed in his course by the eternal wisdom of the Deity. The sublime phraseology of Scripture, 'The Sun of righteousness shall arise with healing in his wings,' could not be more accurately, or more emphatically represented to the human eye, than by this elegant device. To this, succeed representations of Osiris, Isis, and their son Horus, with processions of priests and people advancing to pay their homage, and present their offerings on their knees. Passing under the gateway, we find the principal devices on each side of the passage to be the sceptre of Osiris, alternating with a figure representing the letter T suspended by a handle, or, to speak more correctly, with a handle attached to it ; it has been called the handled cross, the key of the Nile, and honoured with other designations." (Vol. i. p. 185—187.)

Dr. Richardson is disposed to consider it as the sign or letter *Thau*, mentioned in the Vulgate Latin version of Ezekiel ix. 4; and there intimated, as being the sign of life and salvation to those who received it. Both symbols, indeed, may be accurately enough considered, as representing power and preservation. Some of the female figures are admirably executed, and exhibit a remarkable mildness of feature and expression. The remains of three temples still exist. The largest of these is in a fine state of preservation, and is emphatically termed *the temple* of Dendera. It is minutely described by Dr. Richardson, whose account (as well as his disquisition on the Egyptian deities) will not easily admit of abridgment. We shall only remark that he successfully controverts the commonly received opinion that the splendid sculptures in the pro-naos, which have lately arrived at Paris, are a zodiac; and in this opinion he is supported by some eminent French literati. He had an opportunity of comparing the original with part of the great French work on Egypt; to the elegant execution of which he gives the just tribute of praise, but he pronounces it to be extremely incorrect in every part. Dr. Richardson considers the ceiling at Dendera as a representation of the mythological beings and deities of the Egyptian Pantheon. There are no inhabitants residing on the site of ancient Dendera. The modern village is nearer the river, in the midst of a grove of palm trees: it consists of an assemblage of small huts, built of sun-dried bricks, and contains about a thousand inhabitants.

Resuming their boats the travellers passed Gheneh, (the ancient Coene, or Coenopolis,) situated on the eastern bank of the Nile: it is a town of considerable resort, and the centre of commerce between Upper Egypt, the Red Sea, and the interior of Africa.

"Large caravans, consisting sometimes of six or eight hundred camels, go from Gheneh to Cosseir, carrying wheat, flour, honey, oil, cloth, sugar, lentils, and pottery ware, of which last there is here an extensive manufactory, and bring back in return coffee from Mocca, which is adulterated almost as soon as it arrives, and probably a good deal of it before it leaves the mother country, gums, India shawls, muslins, spices, incense, and many other commodities, which anciently were brought to Thebes, next to Coptos, and now to Gheneh, which is but a poor representative of either, though it contains between six and eight thousand inhabitants, who are comfortably lodged for Egyptians. The warehouses were filled with grain, but the bazars were indifferently provided, except with coffee, the principal goods having been sent off to the markets of Cairo and Osyout. This is the only place in Egypt where we saw the women of the town decked out in all their finery, to catch the passing traveller. They were of all nations, and of all complexions, and regularly licensed, as in many parts of Europe, to exercise their profession. Some of them were highly painted, and gorgeously attired with costly necklaces, rings in their noses and in their ears, and bracelets on their wrists and arms. They sat at the doors of their houses, and called on the passengers as they went by, in the same manner as we find them described in the book of Proverbs. Nothing could be more hideous and disgusting than such an array of strumpets: even they themselves seemed conscious of their degradation.

"The pottery of Gheneh is of coarse earthenware, which is turned off with the wheel in the same manner as in Europe. They are slightly burnt, and floated up or down the Nile to supply the natives with drinking and filtering jars, and other vessels for domestic use. The only piece of ingenuity which we saw in the whole manufactory was, the scheme which the man who had both his hands employed in forming the vase upon the wheel, had contrived to hold his pipe, so that he might smoke and work at the same time. This was managed by letting down a rope from a cross bar of wood above his head; the stalk of the pipe was introduced into the loop; and when the man began to work, he took the pipe into his mouth, and, as the wheel drove on, he smoked and turned; all his senses were absorbed; a perfect glutton in clay and smoke." (Vol. i. p. 259—261.)

Thebes, the ancient capital of Egypt, the city of the hundred gates, next received the travellers. Here they were welcomed by Mr. Beechey, the son of the celebrated artist, and by Mr. Belzoni, of whose successful researches we lately presented an abstract to our readers.\* Having traversed the valley of the tombs, they explored the tomb then recently discovered by the last-mentioned traveller, and proceeded up the Nile beyond the second cataract, seeing every thing worthy of note either in their progress upwards or on their return down the Nile to Cairo, where they arrived in the beginning of March, 1818, after a protracted

\* See Brit. Rev. vol. xvii. p. 230—262.



journey, of nearly five months. In the course of this excursion, Dr. Richardson had abundant opportunities of exercising his professional skill. During the whole of his residence at Thebes, for instance, he had not fewer than twenty patients daily, both morning and evening, from all parts of the country; and honourably refused the presents which they brought him in acknowledgment for his services.

"The prevailing diseases in Thebes are affections of the eyes, with a greater proportion of cataracts than I ever remember to have seen in the same population. Dyspepsia, slight hepatic affections, and, what I was not so much prepared for, consumptions, cutaneous diseases, scirrhus and ill-conditioned ulcers; but the most importunate of all the applicants for advice were those who consulted on account of sterility, which in this country is still considered as the greatest of all evils. The unfortunate couple believe that they are bewitched, or under the curse of Heaven, which they fancy the physician has the power to remove. It is in vain that he declares the insufficiency of the healing art to take away their reproach. The parties hang round dunning and importuning him, for the love of God, to prescribe for them, that they may have children like other people. Give me children, or I die, said the fretful Sarah to her husband. Give me children, or I curse you, say the barren Egyptians to their physicians. Of all professions, that of physic is certainly the best to travel with in the Levant: the physician may be sometimes diffculted in getting away from a particular place, where his professional services have entitled him to the esteem and gratitude of the inhabitants! but there is never any doubt of his meeting with a kind and welcome reception, and of hearing many prayers put up for his safety, the efficacy of his prescriptions, and his continuance among them." (Vol. ii. 105, 106.)

In another part of his work he remarks that

"Both Turks and Arabs and oriental Christians are perfect gluttons in physic, and place greater confidence in its wonder-working powers than the more enlightened people in Europe are disposed to do; but they have been so often gulled by pretenders to the art, that a solitary traveller declaring himself to be of that profession is looked upon with suspicion, and must work his way through lengthened files of gossiping quacks and anile competitors, fraught with legions of nostrums from every country under heaven, against every ailment with which the human body can be assailed, from a scratch of the finger to a scirrhus ulcer or a pestilential boil. But all their clamours are silenced by such an introduction, his prescriptions are received with unlimited confidence, and applications for advice are without end. Crowds of invalids, the halt, the blind, the lame, and the sick of every disease, collected from all quarters of the country, assail him, so that unless he gives his whole time up to them, he will find it impossible to satisfy their demands. It is the hardest of all refusals for a medical man at any time to decline giving advice for the health of a fellow-creature, but more especially so in Jerusalem

The patients seize upon him as if only he stood between them and death; they fall down before him on the ground, grasp his legs, kiss his feet, and supplicate him for the love of God, to look at them and prescribe for their complaints. They rarely present him with silver or gold, but the father, the mother, the sister, the brother, or some friend or relation of the patient stands by with a sheep, a lamb, or a goat, a chaplet of beads, a carved shell, or some other portion of his property to reward him for his trouble. The soul is touched when the body suffers, and any thing for health. Whether he is in his lodgings, walks in the streets, or sits down in the market-place, the physician is equally beset; some needy sufferer finds him out, and comes up under the wings of some favoured Turk, who prefers an unnecessary request in behalf of the invalid: no sooner has he prescribed for one, than another victim of disease pathetically assails him, and thus he is kept in constant employ and hunted, as if by a dog, both over town and country.

“The medical practitioner who travels in those countries and wishes to be useful, which it is hoped every member of the profession does, should take along with him a set of surgical instruments, particularly such as are necessary for operations on the eye, and for laying open fistulous sores; also a chest of medicines well stored with calomel and jalap, bark, the liquor of ammonia, which from the debilitated state of the digestive organs, occasioned by the excessive use of tobacco, he will find of great service; powders for making soda-water and the spirits of nitrous ether, he will find universally called for, and a small quantity of them will be sufficient to secure him the temporary friendship of any great man in the country; he ought also to take opium along with him, which, strange as it may appear, I hardly ever found good in those countries, and he will find the ointment of the nitrate of mercury of great service in the eruptive diseases on which he will often be consulted. Such other medicines as he may have occasion for he will generally meet with in the convents or the shops of the country.” (Vol. ii. p. 392—394.)

Travelling much at leisure with his noble patron, our author had abundant opportunities of exploring the various antiquities which presented themselves in their route: and though his descriptions must necessarily be similar to those of Mr. Belzoni, (to the accuracy and fidelity of whose models and engravings he bears honourable testimony,) yet he has furnished many details which that enterprising traveller has not recorded. Without minutely following the author's route, we shall select a few particulars, which we think will be new to our readers.

In the tomb discovered by Mr. Belzoni at Thebes, Dr. Richardson found a tablet exhibiting a human sacrifice to the serpent. Three human beings rest upon their knees, with their heads struck off: the attitude, in which they implored for mercy, is that in which they met their doom; and the serpent opposite erects his crest on a level with their throats, in order to

drink the stream of life as it issues from their veins. The executioner brandishes the ensanguined knife, prepared to sever from the body the heads of the three other unfortunate men, who are lying prostrate, and held by a string behind him. The colours of the painting in this tomb are remarkably vivid, and the performance does not seem to have suffered in any way, either from time or from human violence. In one or two places the colours appear to have run, from having been laid on in too liquid a state; but these were only discernible on the closest and most careful inspection.

At Esneh, the travellers visited the temple, the only remain of ancient art in that place. We extract his description of it, for the wholesome castigation which it gives to the sceptical savans of a neighbouring country. This temple

“ Stands in the middle of the town; it is built of sand-stone, and is much smaller than the temple at Denderah; but resembles it in the moulding passing down the angles, as if to enclose the whole building in a frame. It enters from the east, and the columns in front, like those at Denderah, are engaged in the wall. There are twenty-four columns in the pronaos, six rows with four columns in each. The columns are all of the same proportion, and the leaves of the springing lotus, like the calyx of a flower, form the capital of each; but no two capitals are the same. The Egyptian taste is variously uniform. The globe, surmounted with serpent and wings, forms the usual ornament over the door, and up the centre of the pronaos. Different devices, resembling those at Denderah, are introduced on the ceiling, between the rows of columns; and between the last row and the wall on each side, are represented what have been called the twelve signs of the zodiac. The figures said to represent the signs are the same with those at Denderah; but the number of stars on the ceiling are much fewer, and the decorations and arrangement are different. Here the ascending signs begin with pisces and end with leo; at Denderah they begin with aquarius and end with gemini, or, as expositors will have it, the beetle. Here the descending signs begin with aquarius and end with virgo, between which and leo there is a sphinx; at Denderah the descending signs begin with capricornus and end with leo. From the summer solstice, here supposed to be in virgo, it has been concluded that this zodiac or ceiling at Esneh is 2145 years older than that at Denderah, where it is in leo, and that it was constructed 6000 or 7000 years ago. Another philosopher, not satisfied with the antiquity ascribed to it in this account, asserts that the zodiac at Esneh was constructed when the summer solstice was in capricorn, which was only 14,000 or 15,000 years ago. I have already stated my reasons for regarding the ceiling at Denderah as a representation of the mythological beings and devices of the Egyptian pantheon. The same observations apply with equal force to that which has been called the zodiac at Esneh. These I shall not, in this place, either repeat or enlarge. But in reply to the charges of

prejudice and superstition which the abettors of the French philosophy have brought against the believers in the chronology of Moses, it may be remarked, that the most undiluted fanatic who kisses a wooden saint for salvation, or presents a golden heart to the Virgin Mary for safety, is not more credulous and absurd in his practice and belief, than are such philosophers. All this the history of human science and opinions sufficiently testify, from the days of Thales and Aristotle, to the days of Locke and La Place. The French philosophers themselves, Barokhart, Visconti, and Dupuis, differ from one another, in no less a period than from 2000 to 8000 years, and cannot state, on sufficient grounds, what they would have the world to believe, or what they themselves believe to be the truth. Yet they would ask mankind to surrender their belief in the chronology of Moses, and believe what? *Esope ne dit pas*; wise men do not inform us. So far from believing that the zodiac at Esneh was constructed 7000 or 15,000 years ago, I believe that it is no zodiac at all, and that then the world had no existence, there was not a drop of water in the Nile, a grain of sand, a human being, or a vegetable on its banks. Let philosophers prove the contrary if they can from any zodiac in existence. A late admirer of the French philosophy, in treating of the secular variations in the apparent motion of the sun, has the following remark:—The line of the apsides continually moving round, must at one period have coincided with the line of the equinoxes. The lower apsis or perigree in 1750, was  $278^{\circ}.6211$  from the vernal equinox, according to La Caille, and the higher apsis was therefore at the distance of  $98^{\circ}.6211$ . The time required to move over this arch at the rate of  $62'$  annually, is about 5722 years, which goes back nearly 4000 before our era—a period remarkable for being that to which chronologists refer the creation of the world. The Devil never sent the bane, but the Almighty, at the same time, sent the antidote; and were the question at issue on the score of probability, we should enter the above as a set-off against all the zodiacs, or mythological documents that the world can produce. But it has long since been decided upon higher grounds, at which philosophers may kick, but which they cannot shake or overturn. We resume the description of the temple.

“The columns, and the walls within the pronaos, are covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics, which are far from being so well executed as those on the temple at Denderah. The pronaos is much filled up with small drifted sand, and the sekos so completely so, that we could only see the top of the door; but could not enter.\* The sculpture and hieroglyphics on the exterior of the temple are equally defective in execution with those in the pronaos, and a number of Arab huts are so closely built up round the north side of it, that nothing below the moulding can be seen.” (Vol. i. p. 311—315.)

At Assouan, there still remain some ruins of the ancient city of Syene. Dr. Richardson exerted himself in vain to find the *tropical well* (as it was called), into which the sun is said to

shine vertically on the vernal equinox, and then to retreat towards the south: and he is of opinion that no such well ever existed.

"Ancient geographers and philosophers have stated the circumstance on the reports of the priests, who were the only learned men of the time; but none of them have condescended to inform us in what part of the town or district it was to be found; and in as far as the tropic is concerned, all of them must have been speaking to a fact which they never could have witnessed; for, from the best and latest observations, the sun could not have been vertical at Assouan for these five thousand four hundred years, a period at which, in all probability, there was no body there to observe it. We did not omit to visit the small stone building which, on what authority I know not, has been called the observatory of Syene, and said to have been built over the mouth of this tropical well. It is situated in the north-west corner of the rubbish, in a sort of appendicle to the ancient town, facing the Nile, a little way up from the quay, near the place where the boats usually harbor. It is certainly a likely place to find water, if the digger chose to go deep enough, but a very unlikely one for any person to make a well. It is but about two hundred yards distant from the river, and the perforation down to its level must be through at least 100 feet of rock. This is not likely to have been a natural well, formed by the bursting of a bubble from the great central fire, and the excavation is not likely to have been made 5400 years ago; neither is the situation likely to have been chosen for an observatory, on account of its being relatively low, nor the building ever to have been employed as such, on account of its size, which is only 33 feet long and 22 feet wide. It is in the form of a temple, and enters from the east, though the building is not quite east and west by compass. The roof is flat, and covered with broad flags, the same as the other temples, with two apertures in it, answering to two chambers below. The apertures run from south to north, the direction of the flags in the roof; their sides are not marked with any notches, nor formed with any particular care, and the apertures are not opposite to, nor appear to have any relation or connection with each other. The door was quite obstructed with the rubbish, so that there was no entering by it; but, a window in the south readily admitting us, we dropped down into the interior of the building, in which there are only two small chambers, divided by a stone wall, with a door of communication. The outside is adorned with sculpture and hieroglyphics, as in the other temples; but there is nothing in the inside but stones and sand." (Vol. i. p. 350—352.)

This edifice does not appear to have been finished: and Dr. Richardson is disposed to think that it was a small fane or chapel, like that of Isis attached to the large temple at Dendera, and that it may have been used for the daily service of the people on the eastern side of the Nile, while the grand temples

in which the principal ceremonies were performed, stood on the opposite island of Elephantina: On landing at this island, Dr. Richardson arrived just in time to witness a coronagh or wailing for the dead.

“ A poor woman of the village had that morning received the melancholy intelligence that her husband had been drowned in the Nile. He had been interred without her knowledge near the spot where the body was found, and she, along with several of her female friends, was paying the unavailing tribute of lamentation to his departed shade. The ceremony, in as far as it fell under our observation, consisted in marching out of and into the house with drawn swords in their hands. After howling and stamping most piteously, they threw themselves down on the floor, as if exhausted, and after a short interval arose and commenced the threnody again as before.” (Vol. i. p. 355, 356.)

From the house of mourning, the travellers directed their attention to the adjoining field, which contains a mutilated statue of Osiris, and of a temple that was dedicated to Cneph. The serpent, an emblem of wisdom, is of frequent occurrence among the hieroglyphics: but the interior of this edifice is so besmeared with mud, that Dr. Richardson found it impossible to make out any consistent story from its walls. Contiguous to these ruins are various remains of a larger and more magnificent temple.

The island of Elephantina (which is variously called the island of Assouan, of Arte, and also El Sag) is about two thousand feet in length, by six hundred feet in breadth, and is separated from Assouan by a branch of the Nile, which is, about two hundred feet wide. The northern end of it

“ Is adorned by palms, orange-trees, acacias, and small gardens well watered. The southern extremity of this small island is bare rock, consisting of red granite; whence were hewn many of those stupendous monuments, the obelisks, &c. and floated down the Nile. The works of art, it is needless to observe, have now been long suspended; but the quarries remain precisely as they were left—the marks of the workman’s chisel and wedge as fresh as of yesterday. On the northern end of Elephantina are the ruins of Roman fortifications; and, opposite to them, on the eastern side of the Nile, are ruins of Arab fortifications.” (*Jowett’s Researches*, p. 139.)

“ There are also on the Island of Elephantina, singular memorials of the Roman Troops, which have been quartered here. Many broken pieces of red earthenware, shreds of the potsherd, are found, which appeared to have served as tickets to the soldiers, assigning them their portion of corn. The name of Antoninus was found on some of them. They are written in Greek, and in black; in a running hand, very similar to that which is used in a Greek Letter at this day. They are in small pieces, about half the size of a man’s hand;

and each one appears complete, though it is difficult to decipher them. This seems to illustrate Ezekiel iv. 1." (P. 140.)

The whole of this island is exceedingly beautiful, and is at present (as it appears formerly to have been) entirely inhabited by Nubians, who are perfectly black, but without possessing the negro features in the smallest degree: the expression (of their countenance bears a strong resemblance to that which is generally found portrayed in the temples and tombs of the ancient Egyptians. The inhabitants of Assouan, who are greatly superior to the Nubians, are of Arab origin, and swarthy, partly from the climate, and partly from a mixture of Nubian blood. Dr. Richardson also observed here several families that appeared to belong to a third race, differing both in complexion and feature from the inhabitants of Assouan and Nubia. Their hue was more of a bronze or reddish brown, resembling mahogany, approaching very nearly both in feature and complexion to that which is called the head of the young Memnon, and to the figures in the lately discovered tomb, in the valley of Biban-el-Melook.

Deer, Dehr, Derr or Dair (so variously is this village denominated by different travellers), is the capital of Nubia, beautifully situated on the east bank of the Nile, and contains numerous remains of ancient structures, the workmanship of which is inferior both in point of taste and execution to those found in many parts of Egypt and Nubia. It was once a Christian settlement; but neither there, nor throughout Nubia, is there a single individual who believes in the name of Jesus.

"It has been for them," Dr. Richardson feelingly remarks "a sad reverse; and the heart bleeds in compassion for their wretchedness, in comparing what they are with what they might have been, if living under the influence of the Gospel, enlightened by its precepts, and governed by its laws. What a blank does the absence of true religion make in the hearts and the establishments of men! One would have thought that the small and fertile vale of Nubia would have been the abode of happiness and peace; but every hand is armed with a spear, every eye is on fire, and man burns with indignation against his fellow-man, whom he should meet with affection, feel for as a brother, and not seek as an enemy whom he would devour." (Vol. i. p. 410.)

Of the temples of Absambul (one of which had not long before been opened by Mr. Belzoni, who calls this place *Ypsambul*) we have a long and interesting description. Proceeding further up the river, the travellers at length reached the boundary of their voyage,—the second cataract of the Nile; the latitude of which the Earl of Belmore, by observation, determined to be  $21^{\circ} 52' 50''$  and the longitude  $31^{\circ} 27' 19''$  east. The surrounding coun-

try is rock and sand : from the cairn or tumulus of a much venerated Moslem Sheikh, Abdallah Gadi, which stands on the summit of a lofty mountain, the travellers had an extensive view of this far-famed cataract.

"As far as the eye can reach, he sees the river broken into a number of separate streams by rocks and islets springing up in its bed. Some of them are covered with shrubs and verdure; others lift up their bare rocky heads, and contrast beautifully with the sheets of water that reflect the sun-beams between them. It appears as if the river were here issuing from a marshy source, and the traveller is almost convinced that the origin of this mighty stream is not to be sought for any farther. There is no fall of water within the whole range of vision; and the term cataract must be interpreted here, as in the former instance at Assouan, to import merely an obstruction to the navigation and equable current of the river. On the large island at the entrance of the cataract, and which is called Djenezoff, there are the remains of a ruined village, built upon a considerable eminence, probably the ruins of a former village." (Vol. i. p. 450, 451.)

While the ship's carpenter was chiseling the names of the party on one of the rocks, the travellers ascended the summits of several others, in order to view the cataract in different directions; and from the most elevated of them, they enjoyed the most uninterrupted and extensive view of the interesting scene which they had travelled so far to contemplate: it is thus described by Dr. Richardson:

"Throughout the whole field of vision we saw the river divided by innumerable rocks and islands, in the manner already described; yet, from the mountain-top, we could easily trace a main current wheeling its way among the rocks and islands, so as to preserve the continuity of one principal stream throughout. Here and there, where it passes over a rugged or uneven base, the current is slightly dimpled, and a feeble rushing may be heard; but there is no phenomenon that can be called a waterfall within the whole sphere of vision, and the neighbouring inhabitants would be more puzzled to hear it at all, than to avoid being deafened by the roar of its cascade.

"Following the course of the river, which is south, and a little westerly, the prospect is bounded by two lofty mountains that cut in upon its course nearly at right angles; they are merely the contiguous portions of the same mountain range, with a passage for the river between them, and it would, perhaps, be more correct to say that the river had cut through them, than that they cut in upon the river. On each side of the river the whole prospect is one vast desert of rock and sand. The rock in some places is table-shaped, in others pyramidal; the sand is of that light species of yellow quicksand that glides from under the feet on the slightest pressure, and seems to be formed from the disintegrated sandstone rocks with which the whole scene is covered. We perceived one solitary hut at a small distance, on the river's edge; but I have no doubt that there were several others



close at hand, from the number of individuals that we saw in the course of the day. From this lofty station we moved to a rocky point near to the brink of the river; but the view was neither so interesting, nor so extensive as that which has been already described. Perceiving here the names of some of our English friends sculptured on the rock, we proceeded to engrave our own, as a memorial of our visit, and to tell the future traveller that we had been there before him. Having finished this piece of lithography, we set out on our return to the vessel, highly gratified with our day's excursion." (Vol. i. p. 453, 454)

"The rock here is still sandstone; granite may exist, but we saw none of it: the proportion of quartz in the sandstone in some places is very great; it is frequently pervaded by veins of pure quartz in small masses of about an inch square. The pebbles, of which there is a great profusion scattered about, are chiefly flint, Egyptian jasper, agate, and bloodstone; the specimens of the latter are very rare." (Vol. i. p. 455.)

A considerable portion of Dr. Richardson's second volume is devoted to a description of the antiquities of Thebes, from which we select the following passages relative to the celebrated Statues of Memnon.

"These two statues are nearly equal in size, they are about fifty-two feet high, and forty feet asunder; the throne on which they rest is thirty feet long, eighteen feet broad, and between seven and eight feet high. They look to the east, are on a line with each other, and apparently directly opposite to the temple of Luxor. If there be any difference in size, the one on the south is the smaller of the two. It appears to be of one entire stone. The face, arms, and front of the body are greatly disintegrated from the effects of human violence. Not a lineament of the countenance remains. The back seat and pedestal are very entire. The head-dress is beautifully wrought, as also the shoulders which remain uninjured. The massy hair projects from behind the ears like that of the sphinx, and it seems like Jove, as if it would bow its head, and welcome you to Thebes. There is a row of hieroglyphics down the back, but no inscription or hieroglyphics on the pedestal. The sides of the throne are highly ornamented with the elegant device of two bearded figures tying the stem of the flexible lotus round the ligula. The statue is in a sitting posture, with the hands resting upon the knees. On the outside of each of the legs there is a small statue, with a spiked crown on its head, and the arms down by its side. It stands up in front of the pedestal, and reaches a little above the calf of the leg, nearly to the knee. The legs of the statue are divided, and between the two feet there is another small statue that reaches nearly to the calf of the leg.

"The northernmost of the two statues, which appears to be that of the vocal Memnon, is in the same posture with a similar figure between the feet, and on each side of the legs. It has been broken over above the haunches, which was reported to Strabo to have been the effect of an earthquake. The head, in his time, with the disrupted

half of the statue, was lying beside it on the ground. The other half was sitting in its original position, which it still retains. The part that had been broken off is since carried away. The sitting and remaining part has since got another, though I believe few people will think it a better half, built upon it in regular courses of common cut sandstone. Four courses form the body and part of the neck, and one forms the head and the remaining part of the neck. It is entirely fashioned like the upper part of the other statue, with tablets of hieroglyphics, with the goose and egg over the back between them. The carved drapery on the arm has not been attempted, nor is the stone susceptible of such elegant workmanship as that which adorns the shoulder of its more fortunate neighbour. Upon that part of the ancient statue which still remains, namely, upon the side of the throne, the ornament of the two bearded figures tying the lotus round the stalk of the ligula, with the accompanying hieroglyphics, are as fresh and distinct as on the other. Both the statues are attired in the same drapery, which is that of a male, and as far as we could judge, the drapery on both has been the same.

"But what characterizes this as the statue of vocal celebrity are the numerous inscriptions both in Greek and Latin, in verse and prose, with which the throne, legs, thighs, and body of it are covered; all of them attesting that the writers thereof had heard the heavenly voice of Memnon, at the first hour or before the second. Feeble indeed at the first, but afterwards becoming strong and powerful, like a trumpet. We searched with eagerness for the name of the illustrious geographer quoted above, but if ever it was there it is now among the many illegibles, that no human eye can decipher. Julia Bomilla, Cecilia Treboulla, Pulitha Balbima, and many others, attest that they heard the voice of the Memnon; when along with the Emperor Hadrian, and his Royal Consort Sabina, whom they seem to have accompanied in his tour throughout the country. One person writes, I hear (Audio) the Memnon; and another person, I heard the Memnon sitting in Thebes, opposite to Diospolis; implying as if that were more particularly the name of the western part of the district, now called Thebes, and Diospolis that of the eastern.

"Resolved to try our fortune, and to give the Memnon an opportunity of being equally vocal to us as he had been to other travellers, Lord Corry and myself set out one morning at peep of dawn, and arrived at the foot of the statue about half an hour before sunrise. We remained till he was an hour above the horizon, and though the god of day shone out as bright and cloudless as ever he did on the son of Tithonus, no grateful salutation of welcome was echoed in return, all was still and silent as the grave. The voice had departed from Memnon, and the vivifying ray touched the mute and monumental statue in vain. The report of his former vocality, however, still prevails in the country, and the Arabs call it Salamat, or the statue that bids good morning. The two statues they also call Shamy and Damy." (Vol. ii. p. 39—43.)

"A complete fac-simile of these inscriptions may be expected from Mr. Salt. Some of them there was great difficulty in restoring. One

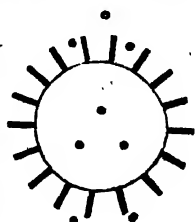
complains, in mournful verse, of the injury done to the statue by Cambyzes, who, when he conquered Egypt, mal-treated many of the ancient monuments. This invasion may probably be alluded to, 200 years before, in Isaiah xix. 1, where it is predicted, *the Idols of Egypt shall be moved*. "Another copy of verses acknowledges, with gratitude, the rebuilding of the statue, after its mutilation by Cambyzes." (P. 135.)

The material of which these statues is composed, is a quartzose sand-stone, highly crystallized, and with a considerable tinge of iron. The smooth glossy surface of their original polish still remains on them in many places. Considering the countless ages during which they have pressed their yielding bed, it cannot seem surprising that the pedestal, on which they rest, should have sunk considerably into the earth: but this subsidence is more apparent than real, for the annual inundation of the Nile contributes to accumulate the mud around their base. These two venerable statues evidently stand, one on each side of an avenue, and have been followed by a series of other colossal statues, the upper half of one of which still presses the soil, guarding the approach to a temple, whose ruins lay buried on the edge of the cultivated ground, till Mr. Salt uncovered them, exposed to view a number of statues and sphinxes, and traced the foundation and columns of a magnificent temple to which they belonged. Belzoni continued the researches so auspiciously commenced, and brought up the handsome statue of black granite now deposited in the British Museum.

When the Egyptians are not occupied in the labours of the field, they employ themselves in opening and plundering the tombs of their ancient countrymen of every article that can tempt the European traveller to make it his own. While the men are thus engaged, the women are busied in the pristine occupation of tending the flocks. During Dr. Richardson's journey along the edge of the desert, he not unfrequently met with mothers and their children seated beside little flocks of goats or sheep, hardly more numerous than themselves. On the approach of a stranger

"The adult females drew their dark woollen veils over their faces, leaving only a small opening for their darker eyes to look abroad. If he chose to bid them good morning or good evening, they might or might not return his salutation. It was by no means to be reckoned uncivil though they did not. The younger part of the group usually made up, and the silencing the dogs was an usual prelude to their demanding a *baxiss*,\* which they generally did with much importunity. But the flocks in Thebes being very few, the weeding of the crops, the superintendence of the domestic concerns, and the car-

rying of water for the uses of their families, comprise the more general occupations of the softer sex. Their only education is to perform the lowest offices of domestic drudgery, to work nets for their hair, bracelets for their wrists, or string beads for their necks. The beads are generally of glass, and uncut agate, of which they wear an ungraceful profusion. Their nails are dyed red; the backs of their hands, their arms, chin, and several parts of the face are tattooed in small patches, of a pale blue color. The devices are generally circular, and filled with dots. On the outside, or to speak technically, dorsal aspect of the right forearm, a little above the wrist, both sexes generally have tattooed the *Tirsi* Moslimin, or moslem shield, an amulet engrained in the skin, in the form of the shield of the Prophet, which is perfectly competent to ward off, or quench all the fiery darts of the devil and his angels. The Christians are tattooed with the sign of the cross, the holy sepulchre, the holy family, or some favorite saint. Confidence is half the battle. How happy are they who have their shield in their heart, and trust in their God, while they do their best themselves, giving amulets and images alike to the dogs! Marriages are consummated at the early age of twelve, or fourteen. The man must husband his earnings to purchase himself a wife; and I mention for the information and comfort of poor, bashful, despairing bachelors, that the price of a wife in Thebes is thirty piastres, or fifteen shillings British money. Reading or writing, or mental improvement, are to them unknown. I don't believe that the first woman in Thebes knows one letter of the alphabet. There is a school at Luxor for teaching the boys the knowledge of letters, and a little arithmetic, and a discourse is delivered in the mosques every Friday by one of the Shiekhs; but it is seldom that females are allowed to participate even in this small gratification. Their want of consequence and degradation in society strikes an European with horror. In the whole of the villages that occupy the site of this ancient capital, from which proceeded the first conquerors and civilizers of the world, where science first reared her venerable head, where was the oldest library on record, and where books were called the medicine of the soul, though still possessing a population of eight or ten thousand beings, there does not exist one person that merits the appellation of a lady, an instructed man, or a gentleman." (Vol. ii. p. 121—124.)



There are no antiquities of any importance at Gaza, whose population is estimated at between two and three thousand: but of ancient Askelon, one of the proudest satrapies of the Philistines, there are considerable remains. At present, however, there is not a single inhabitant within its walls, and the prediction of the prophet Zechariah is literally fulfilled,—“The king shall perish from Gaza, and Askelon shall not be inhabited.” (Zech. ix. 5.)

Modern Jerusalem, which exhibits a respectable appearance,

though of an irregular shape, is about two miles and a half in circumference: it is surrounded by a lofty embattled wall, which is entered through six gates. Its population is computed by Dr. Richardson at twenty thousand souls, five thousand of whom are ~~Musulmans~~, five thousand Christians, and ten thousand Jews. The Musulmans reside chiefly around the mosque, erected on the site of Solomon's temple; the Latin, Greek, and Armenian Christians dwell chiefly in the vicinity of their respective convents, which occupy the higher and western parts of the city, and the Jews reside principally on the edge of Mount Sion.

"The Armenians are a strong good-looking race of people, highly dignified in their deportment, civil and industrious. There are many of them settled in Jerusalem in comfortable circumstances. Their houses are well kept and well furnished. On visiting them the stranger is received with a warmth unusual even among the Greeks, and it is the more agreeable for being sincere. He is treated with coffee and a pipe of tobacco, a glass of liquor, cakes, biscuits, and different kinds of sweetmeats which are handed to him by the mistress of the family, her daughter, or servant; all being usually in attendance, although there should be only one guest to be served. They take the cup or glass from him when he has done with it, and kiss his hand as they receive it. They pour water on his hands for him to wash after he has done eating, and give him a towel to dry them, on receiving which, they again lay hold of the hand and kiss it, and then retire to their station with the servant near the door. Mother, daughter, and man-servant are all alike candidates to take the cup and kiss the hand, and, in point of etiquette, it matters not to which of them the guest delivers it. They seldom sit down in his presence, and never without much intreaty, even though the state of their health should be such as to render it improper for them to stand; afraid that by so doing they should be thought deficient in respect to their visitor. In judging of national manners, the great difficulty is to find an undisputed standard to which we may refer all points of difference; but I think I may safely say, that we manage these things much better in England, and that any system which would induce the Orientals to treat their females with more respect, and introduce them into public society, would go a great way towards converting them to Christianity and every good work, and till then they are likely to remain ignorant and uncultivated. The eye of the person whom we love, and whose approbation we are anxious to merit and possess, has more influence upon our conduct than a thousand precepts. The Armenian ladies have a sedate and pleasant manner, with much of the Madonna countenance; their eyes are generally dark and complexion florid, but rarely enriched with that soft intelligent expression which characterises the eye of the Greek or Jewish female.

"The Jews reside chiefly on the edge of Mount Zion, and in the lower part of the city, which, in the language of Scripture, is called the daughter of Zion, near to the shambles, which are most dread-

fully offensive : in passing them on a summer morning a person is almost afraid to draw his breath, the inhalation of the vapour produces such a deadening effect upon the whole system.

“ Many of the Jews are rich and in comfortable circumstances, and possess a good deal of property in Jerusalem ; but they are careful to conceal their wealth, and even their comfort, from the jealous eye of their rulers, lest by awakening their cupidity, some vile, indefensible plot, should be devised to their prejudice. In going to visit a respectable Jew in the holy city, it is a common thing to pass to his house over a ruined foreground and up an awkward outside stair, constructed of rough unpolished stones, that totter under the foot ; but it improves as you ascend, and at the top has a respectable appearance, as it ends in an agreeable platform in front of the house. On entering the house itself, it is found to be clean and well furnished, the sofas are covered with Persian carpets, and the people seem happy to receive you. The visitor is entertained with coffee and tobacco, as is the custom in the houses of the Turks and Christians. The ladies presented themselves with an ease and address that surprised me, and recalled to my memory the pleasing society of Europe. This difference of manner arises from many of the Jewish families in Jerusalem having resided in Spain or Portugal, when the females had rid themselves of the cruel domestic fetters of the East, and, on returning to their beloved land, had very properly maintained their justly acquired freedom and rank in society. They almost all speak a broken Italian, so that conversation goes on without the clumsy aid of an interpreter.

“ It was the feast of the Passover, and they were all eating unleavened bread ; some of which was presented to me as a curiosity, and I partook of it merely that I might have the gratification of eating unleavened bread with the sons and daughters of Jacob in Jerusalem ; it is very insipid fare, and no one would eat it from choice. For the same reason I went to the synagogue, of which there are two in Jerusalem, although I only visited one. The form of worship is the same as in this country, and I believe in every country which the Jews inhabit. The females have a separate part of the synagogue assigned to them, as in the synagogues in Europe, and in the Christian churches all over the Levant. They are not, however, expected to be frequent, or regular in their attendance on public worship. The ladies generally make a point of going on the Sunday, that is the Friday night or Saturday morning after they are married ; and being thus introduced in their new capacity, once a year is considered as sufficient compliance, on their part, with the ancient injunction to assemble themselves together in the house of prayer. Like the votaries of some Christian establishments, the Jewesses trust more to the prayers of their priests than to their own.” (Vol. ii. p. 259—263.)

The Jews are stated to be the best cicceroni in Jerusalem, because they generally give to places their ancient names, which is not done by the guides and different interpreters belonging to the convents. The Turks are great talkers ; and those of the higher classes, though grave and solemn in their conversation,

are at the same time no enemies to cheerfulness. During his residence here, Dr. Richardson was a frequent guest with Omar Effendi, *Capo Verde* (or Head of the Green), to whom he had rendered considerable assistance in his medical capacity; and through his friendly offices he obtained permission to visit the *Haram Schereef*, or celebrated mosque,—a favour never before offered to any Christian, with the exception of M. de Haycs, the ambassador of Louis XIII, who did not avail himself of the permission. Of this far-famed edifice we have a minute description, as well as of the reputed holy places (the identity of which Dr. Richardson very properly gives up): but for these, as well as his remarks on the scriptural topography of Jerusalem, we must refer to his interesting but in some instances negligently written volumes. We select a few particulars respecting the celebrated city of Damascus.

The streets are narrow and irregular, and consequently well shaded from the sun; the shops abounded with fruits and vegetables; and in every quarter of the town great abundance of iced water, mixed with the juice of figs or currants, was exposed for sale. The shopkeepers are described as being so extremely civil to strangers, that, if they have not the articles desired, they will, unsolicited, accompany them to the place where they can be suited, and will not leave them till they are satisfactorily supplied. In Damascus, as in Cairo, each class of commodities has its appropriate bazaars; and among them are bazaars for swords and military accoutrements; but the Damascus blades are no longer held in that estimation by which they were once distinguished for their admirable temper. Constantinople regards her own manufacture of swords as the best; and Cairo, Aleppo, and Bagdad severally put forth a claim to the same distinction. The bazaars of Damascus, however, are better lighted, and have a more elegant as well as more airy appearance than those at Cairo or Constantinople: and those for ready-made clothes form an agreeable lounging place, where the traveller is certain of seeing a constant crowd of Turks, Bedoween Arabs, Druses, and Syrian Christians, passing and re-passing in their different costumes.

Damascus is celebrated in the east for its Cafés, whither the inhabitants resort to smoke and sip coffee. Those in the interior of the city are mere smoking houses; but those on the banks of the river Barrady are remarkably well adapted to the climate; which, being extremely warm at certain seasons of the year, are formed so as to exclude the rays of the sun, while they admit the breeze, and gratify the eye with the delightful sight of luxuriant vegetation, and the ear with the rushing sound of artificial cascades.

"These cafés are all constructed of wood, and consist of a high pavilion roof, supported with wooden pillars, and partially covered with mats, evergreens, and creepers. They are far from being elegant or expensive; but they are cool, and admit an agreeable and softened light, that forms a charming contrast with the intense glare of the sun glancing upon the waters, or reflected from the whitened walls of the houses of the town. The floor is of wood or earth, most generally the former, and is regularly watered. All round are high raised broad bottomed wooden seats like sofas, for the frequenters to sit on after the fashion of their country, and smoke, drink coffee, talk, and enjoy themselves.

"As a place of public resort, I must confess these cafés appeared to me both dull and uncomfortable; and the company generally of a very ordinary description. There are no public papers, no magazines, no reviews, and nothing to keep up a general, or a national interest. Sometimes a person, like a hawker, reads or recites a tale, that may chance to be listened to; it by no means follows as a matter of course. They are commonly remarkably still and silent, and seem, as if being over-fatigued, to go thither to indulge in a little repose. Each person as he enters calls for a hooka, and a cup of coffee, which are immediately brought to him. There are no long pipes in the cafés, at Damascus, and the hooka is such a hideous and unwieldy instrument that nothing but the most determined resolution to smoke could make it all tolerable. In these words I am not to be understood as abusing the elegant smoking apparatus, usually known in this country by the name of hooka, which, with its handsome arguil and snake, deserves to be spoken of in terms of commendation, as far at least as appearances are concerned; but a most infamous substitute to which the cafétiers of Damascus have unwarrantably given the same name. It consists of a head that somewhat resembles the hooka, and a small bit of hollow cane, about two feet and a half long, stuck into the side of it for a shaft. It has no amber mouth-piece, and is lighted in the same way as the hooka, but the stalk is too short to let it rest on the ground, and it is so difficult to draw, that the novice in smoking is obliged to keep pulling, and balancing, and making such efforts as greatly to endanger the safety of his brain, and respiratory organs: and all for what? to obtain a whiff of tobacco through a drop of dirty water. There is nothing so absurd that fashion will not reconcile us to, nor any thing that a man disposed to be idle will not do to fill up his time; or an active man, in want of employment, to have the sensation of doing something. These are, perhaps, the best apologies that can be offered for men indulging in such a revolting and abominable practice. Were it imposed on them as a task by their superiors, it would be considered as an act of intolerable oppression, and would be denounced as the source of half the diseases to which the votaries of this horrible species of smoking are liable; but, as they have taken it up of their own whim and caprice, to regulate their leisure hours, they hail the hour that lets them loose to the enjoyment, as the greatest consolation, and pay their money with the greatest pleasure for permission to suck poison and stupefaction



through dirty water, from the end of a stick; but they say, it is good for the sight, it is good for the head-ache, it is good for the belly-ache, it is good for the digestion of food, and for removing the sensation of hunger; in short, it possesses every excellent quality that fancy chooses to give it, and no more. To see the ease and comfort with which such a person smokes the hooka, or the long pipe, a stranger who had never seen the operation, nor knew its virtues, would say at once, "that man is enjoying himself:" but were he to enter one of the cafés in Damascus, and see a hundred, or two hundred people balancing this immense thing like an ass's head, on the point of a small cane, and sucking and pulling away at it with such eagerness, he would certainly conclude that these people were either demented, or that they inhaled life and felicity in the draught which cost them so much trouble to obtain, and would as certainly laugh at their folly when he learnt what they were doing, and what were its effects. The gardens round Damascus are private property, and answer better to the description of what we call orchards in this country than gardens. They abound in fountains and summer-houses, and furnish a delightful retirement under the shade of the walnut, the citron, the orange, and the pomegranate. The principal ones lie close upon the town, on the west, between it and the mountain Salehiyyeh, but they are scattered through the whole of the plantation around Damascus, which extends over a circumference of certainly not less than twenty miles. The town itself is nearly in the centre of the plantation, and is about six miles in circumference. Nothing can be more delightful than such an extensive shade in such a country. The environs of Damascus are cool, and refresh the eye with a continual verdure. Riding or walking, or reposing among these plantations is the most gratifying of all enjoyments to a native of the country. Hence the grateful eulogies that have been bestowed on her gardens and her pleasant fields. She has been called, noble, Sham Schereeff, the beautiful, a perfect Eden, a terrestrial paradise; and when we consider these epithets as applied to it by the enthusiastic Arabs, the thirsty inhabitants of Mecca and Medina, who had never seen any thing of the kind before, we may believe that the authors of them really spoke as they felt." (Vol. ii. p. 474—478.)

The total population of Damascus is estimated at 150,000 persons, 12,000 of whom are Christians, of different sects and denominations. Many Jews also reside here, who enjoy more security than in other parts of the east; all the money transactions of the Pasha (and indeed of the country) being managed by two Jews, who are brothers, men of intelligence, and possessing a considerable influence over their ruler, Ahmet Pasha, whose confidential advisers they are, and who is represented as being a very amiable and intelligent man, though unhappily his means of information are very limited.

In the course of his volumes, Dr. Richardson has incidentally noticed the state of morals and religion in the east;

but as these topics are more fully discussed in the *Christian Researches* of Mr. Jowett, we shall, in the remainder of this article, principally avail ourselves of the results of his inquiries,

The Latin, Greek, and Coptic churches are the principal Christian communities in the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. Of these, we are best acquainted with the character, doctrine, and discipline of the Romish Church, from the ancient intercourse and constant rivalry between Protestants and Roman Catholics.

1. The *Latin Church* has two convents at Cairo, the one *della Propaganda*, which extends its jurisdiction over the convents in Upper Egypt: the other, *della Terra Santa*, is in immediate relation with the superior convent at Jerusalem. The former, as its name implies, is in connection with the college *de Propaganda Fide* at Rome: it is possessed of a small library, consisting chiefly of Polyglott Bibles and Lexicons, with some books of travels. Their best books are said to have been taken away by the French during the time they had possession of Cairo. The members of this society have made but little progress, of late years, in propagating the faith of the Romish Church: they have, however, a school for the education of children,—principally those of Coptic parents who have embraced the tenets of that church. The convent *della Terra Santa* is a capacious edifice, belonging to the Franciscan Order, with much accommodation for Christian travellers; who, in the present exhausted state of the funds of this establishment are, very properly, allowed to pay both for their apartments and maintenance. There is a small library also attached to this convent, consisting of theological books and lexicons in different languages.

Of the total number of Latin Christians in the east, it is impossible to form a correct idea. Dr. Richardson states that there are about 1500 in Cairo; according to other travellers, there are about 800 at Jerusalem, 1200 at Sour, a town erected on the ruins of ancient Tyre, between 6 and 7000 at Acre, 3000 at Symrna, 4000 in the island of Scio, a few hundreds at Beirout, and (occasionally) 5 or 600 at Alexandria. Among all these Christians, there is a deplorable scarcity of the Scriptures; and Mr. Jowett is of opinion that it is principally by diffusing them throughout the east, that we can expect to conflict with error and promote the cause of sacred truth. Mr. Connor, who was at Jerusalem during the passover of 1820, has given an interesting account of the ceremonies of the Greeks and Latins in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. It is a capacious building; in the middle of which, under the great cupola, stands an edifice of considerable size, containing the supposed tomb,

over which are suspended forty-four lamps, always burning. Of these twenty-one belong to the Greeks, thirteen to the Catholics, six to the Armenians, and four to the Copts. Between the sepulchre and the sides of the church is a large space, open to all; the chapels of the different communions being in the sides of the church. Mount Calvary (or, rather the eminence which is so denominated), is within its walls: the ascent to it is by a flight of steps, and on its summit are two small chapels belonging to the Greeks, the largest of which is the most splendid and richly ornamented. We extract two or three passages relative to the ceremonies of the holy week.

“On Palm Sunday, (March the 26th) I went to see the Ceremony of the Latins. After a considerable time had been spent in singing before the door of the Sepulchre, the Deputy Superior of the Latin Convent (the Superior himself being in Cyprus) entered the Sepulchre, with some Priests, to bless the Palm Branches that lay there. When this was done, he left the Sepulchre; and, sitting on an elevated chair, received the palms, which had been blessed, from the hands of the Priests. These came forward first, and knelt, one after the other, before the Deputy Superior, receiving from his hand (which they kissed) a branch of the consecrated palm. When this part of the ceremony was concluded, the crowd pressed forward to receive *THEIR* palms. The confusion and tumult were excessive. The Turks, with their sticks and whips, did all they could to restrain the impetuosity of the people; and had it not been for their great activity, the Deputy Superior would certainly have been overwhelmed by the crowd. When the palms had been distributed, and the confusion had, in some measure, subsided, the Priests and some others walked three times in procession round the Sepulchre, with lighted candles, incense, elevated crucifixes, and palms. They sang as they walked. When the Procession was ended, an altar, splendidly ornamented, was placed before the door of the Sepulchre, and Mass was performed.

“On Good Friday there was a grand Procession and Ceremony of the Latins, in the evening. It commenced with an Italian Sermon, in the Catholic Chapel, on the flagellation of Christ. From this place they proceeded to the Chapel, where, they say, Christ's garments were taken from him: here was another Sermon in Italian. They then ascended Mount Calvary; and passed first into the Chapel which marks the spot where Christ was nailed to the Cross: the large crucifix and image which they carried in the Procession was here laid on the ground, and a Spanish Sermon was pronounced over it. When this was finished, the crucifix was raised, and moved into the adjoining Chapel of the Elevation of the Cross: here it was fixed upright behind the altar: a Monk, standing by, preached for twenty minutes, on the Crucifixion. The Sermon was in Italian; and when it was concluded, two Monks approached the Cross, and, partially enveloping the body of the image in linen, took off, with a pair of pincers, the Crown of Thorns from the head, kissed it, and laid it on a plate: the nails were

then drawn out from the hands and feet, with the same ceremony. The arms of the image were so contrived, that, on the removal of the nails which kept them extended, they dropped upon the sides of the body. The image was then laid on linen, and borne down from Calvary to the Stone of Unction, the spot where they say Christ's body was anointed; here the image was extended; and was perfumed with spices, fragrant water, and clouds of incense: the Monks knelt round the stone, with large lighted candles in their hands: a Monk ascended an adjoining pulpit, and preached a Sermon in Arabic. The Procession then went forward to the Sepulchre, where the image was deposited, and a Sermon preached in Spanish. This concluded the Ceremony.

"On the Easter Day of the Latins, which is the Palm Sunday of the Greeks, Armenians, &c. I went to the Church early, and found it excessively crowded. Most of the people had remained there all night. The Catholic, Greek, and Armenian Processions were long and splendid. In all the Processions to-day, except that of the Catholics, Palm Branches were carried, and also Banners with the various scenes of the Passion painted on them. The people were very eager to sanctify their Palms, by touching the Banners with them, as they passed.

"On the Greek Good Friday, I went to the Church, with the intention of spending the night there with the Pilgrims, and of viewing the Ceremonies. The Turkish guard at the gate was particularly strong; and they admitted none who did not chuse to pay twenty-five piastres (about 13s. 8d.) The Firmân which I obtained at Acre from the Pacha, who is Guardian of the Holy Sepulchre, saved myself and servant this expense. It is a general belief among the Greeks and Armenians, that, on Easter Eve, a Fire descends from heaven into the Sepulchre. The eagerness of the Greeks, Armenians, and others, to light their candles at this Holy Fire, carried an immense crowd to the Church, notwithstanding the sum which they were obliged to pay. About nine at night, I retired to rest, in a small apartment in the Church. A little before midnight, the servant roused me to see the Greek Procession. I hastened to the gallery of the Church. The scene was striking and brilliant. The Greek Chapel was splendidly illuminated. Five rows of lamps were suspended in the dome; and almost every individual of the immense multitude held a lighted candle in his hand. The Procession and subsequent service around the Sepulchre were long and splendid.

"I was awakened early in the following morning by the noise in the Church; and, on proceeding to my station in the gallery, I found the crowd below in a state of great confusion. Some were employed in carrying others on their backs, round the Sepulchre; others in dancing and clapping their hands, exclaiming in Arabic—'This is the Tomb of our Lord!' Sometimes a man passed, standing upright on the shoulders of another; and I saw, more than once, four carried along in this manner, a little boy, seated, forming the fourth, or topmost: others again were busy in chasing one another round the Tomb, and

shouting like madmen. Whenever they saw in the crowd a man who they thought could pay them, they seized and forcibly carried him, in their arms, two or three times round the Church. The whole was a most lamentable profanation of the place ! The same happens every year. The noise and confusion increased, as the moment appointed for the apparition of the Fire approached. At length, the Turks, who had not hitherto interfered, began to brandish their whips, and to still, in some measure, the tumult. About noon, the Governor of Jerusalem, with a part of his guard, entered the gallery. The eagerness and anxiety of the people were now excessive. They all pressed toward the Sepulchre, each person holding a bundle of tapers in his hand. The Chief Agent of the Greek Patriarch, and an Armenian Bishop, had entered the Sepulchre shortly before. All eyes were fixed on the gallery, watching for the Governor's signal. He made it, and the Fire appeared through one of the holes in the building that covers the Tomb ! A man lighted his taper at the hallowed flame ; and then pushed into the thickest of the crowd, and endeavoured to fight his way through. The tumult and clamour were great ; and the man was nearly crushed to death, by the eagerness of the people to light their tapers at his flame. In about twenty minutes, every one, both in the galleries and below, men, women, and children, had their candles lighted. Many of them put their lighted candles to their faces, imagining that the flame would not scorch them : I perceived, however, by their grimaces, that they speedily discovered their mistake. They did not permit these tapers to burn long ; reserving them for occasions of need. The power which they attribute to those candles that have been touched with the fire from heaven, is almost unbounded : they suppose, for instance, that if, overtaken by a storm at sea, they throw one of these candles into the waves, the tempest will immediately subside. They are chiefly valued, however, in consequence of the superstitious notion, that, if they are burned at the funeral of an individual, they will most assuredly save his soul from future punishment. To obtain these candles, and to undergo a second baptism in the waters of the Jordan, are the chief objects of the visit of the Greek Pilgrims to Jerusalem." (App. p. 433—437.)

The total number of Pilgrims, who visited Jerusalem in the year 1820, was 3131. Let us hope that the exertions of the British and Foreign Bible Society in the diffusion of the Scriptures, which the pilgrims will in future be enabled to purchase at the very gates of the sepulchre and carry home to their families and friends, will tend progressively to inspire a purer and more exalted spirit of devotion !

2. The Greeks constitute by far the largest body of Christians in the islands of the Mediterranean, as also throughout the east. Mr. Jowett had very considerable intercourse with the Greek bishops, and has communicated much curious and interesting information concerning the doctrine and discipline of the "Or-

thodox Church" (as she styles herself); but as we not long since presented an account of them to our readers,\* we shall confine our attention to such particulars as may serve to complete our abstract.

The Greeks have three services in the day; one, about four o'clock in the morning, called "*Opδρος*, or the *early* service; the second, a *liturgy* (which is the principal service), takes place about six or seven o'clock; and in the evening, *vespers*. Although these services are performed, generally, every day, they are but little attended, except on Sundays or the great festivals. They have three liturgies, composed by Chrysostom, Basil, and Gregory: that of Chrysostom is used throughout the year, except during Lent, when the larger one, of Basil, is read; and, for a few days, that of Gregory. But that, which falls most heavily on an English ear accustomed to the simple and devout liturgy of our church, is the perpetual performance of divine worship in a language not understood by the people. It is surprising how, under such circumstances, their attention can be kept up. To diversify a long service, there is always something new bringing forward, such as changing the dresses and the readers. How short, in this country, does the time of public worship appear, when the understanding is informed by means of a *known* tongue, and the heart is interested by infinitely affecting truths!

Mr. Jowett visited Smyrna twice, in 1818, and in 1819. The population of this city is said to be 120,000; of whom 60,000 are Turks, 40,000 Greeks, 3000 Latins, 7000 Armenians, and 10,000 Jews. Of Protestants, there are very few. In consequence of the Turkish notion of predestination, not fewer than 30,000 persons died of the plague in 1814: though the Turks constitute numerically the largest portion of the inhabitants of Smyrna, they are gradually wasting away, through depopulating vices; while the Greeks, on the contrary, feeling it a duty to marry early, generally have large families, and are consequently upon the increase. In the college at Smyrna there are 250 or 300 pupils, who are under the care of nine masters. Its interest is supported by two brothers, of the name of Economus,—one a presbyter, the other a physician. During one of Mr. Jowett's visits here, he one day witnessed the funeral procession of a Greek of some consequence, over whom Economus, the presbyter, was to preach a funeral sermon in the adjoining Metropolitan church.

"I went with him," says Mr. Jowett. "It was very affecting, to see the corpse lying in an open coffin, with the ordinary dress of life;

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\* See British Review, vol. xviii. pp. 78—102.

that is, the loose flowing Greek robes ; on his head, the kalpac, a large and cumbrous head-dress, commonly worn ; and the face exposed. The sight made me shudder ; and so did the indifference, which habit has produced on the minds of the bystanders.

"Economus preached a Sermon of twenty minutes' length. He spoke of the dead in an Attic style of compliment, under the title of *ο προσάπιος*. He concluded his Sermon, by breaking out into that awful Service which the Greek Church has for the dead, and in which the Congregation in a murmuring voice joined. It is an invitation to relatives and friends to bid their final adieu :—

"Come, Brethren, and let us give the last embrace to the deceased, thanking God ! He hath left his kindred—he is borne to the grave—no longer heeding the things of vanity, and of the burdensome flesh. Where now are kindred and friends ? Now we are separated : Whom let us pray the Lord to take to His rest !

"What a separation, O Brethren ! What woe, what wailing on the present change ! Come then, let us embrace him who a little while ago was with us. He is consigned to the grave—he is covered with a stone—his abode is with darkness—he is buried with the dead ! Now we are separated : Whom let us pray the Lord to take to His rest !

"Now all the evil and vain festivity of life is dissolved : for the spirit hath left its tabernacle—the clay hath become black—the vessel is broken, speechless, void of feeling, dead, motionless : Whom consigning to the grave, let us pray the Lord to give him rest for ever.

"Truly, like a flower, and as a vapour, and as morning dew, is our life. Come then, let us look down narrowly into the grave. Where is the comeliness of the body, and where is youth ? Where are the eyes, and the beauty of the flesh ? All are withered like grass—all are vanished. Come then, let us fall before Christ in tears.

"Looking upon the dead laid out, let us all take account of our last change ; for this man is carried forth, as smoke from the earth—as a flower he is withered—as grass he is cut down—swathed in a winding-sheet—covered with earth : Whom, leaving, now to be no more seen, let us pray to Christ that He will grant to him eternal rest.

"Come hither, ye descendants of Adam ? Let us behold committed to the earth one who was of our likeness—all his comeliness cast away—dissolved in the grave—food for worms—in darkness—covered with earth !

"Come hither, Brethren, to the grave ; and see the ashes and dust of which we were formed ! Whither now go we ? And what have we been ? What is the poor, or the rich ; or what is the master or the free ? Are we not all ashes ? The beauty of the countenance is wasted, and death hath utterly withered the flower of youth : &c. &c.

"The embracing of the dead, then, and during the reciting of this Service, takes place : for, as soon as the Priests departed, many came, and, laying their hands on the two sides of the open coffin, kissed the cheeks and forehead of the deceased, with much emotion. When a Bishop dies, and is laid out in this manner in the Church, all the Congregation throng to perform this ceremony.

"The corpse is now carried out into the Church-yard. A slab lifted up, discovered to our view that the whole Church-yard is hollow under ground. The body was put into a meaner wooden coffin, and lowered into the grave. I did not observe that they sprinkled earth upon it, as we do; but, instead of this, a Priest concluded the ceremony by pouring a glass of water on the head of the corpse. I did not learn what this meant; but it brought to my mind that touching passage in 2 Sam. xiv. 14: *For we must needs die; and are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again.*" (P. 38—40.)

Besides the principal college above noticed, there are six or eight Greek schools at Smyrna, each having about 25 or 30 scholars: they give 60, 80, or 100 paras (from 15 to 25 pence) a month, according to the book they are reading; beginning the alphabet for 60, and being advanced to 100 when they arrive at the psalter.

During Mr. Jowett's residence at Smyrna in 1818, he visited what were, previously to the present commotions, two of the most celebrated Greek colleges, those of Haivali and Scio. As Haivali has since suffered from the brutal excesses of the Turks, we shall subjoin a few particulars relative to the college of Scio. The city of Scio was built by the Genoese, and is far superior to any in the Levant. The houses are of well-wrought stone, spacious and high, and the streets tolerably clean. There are five professors, and 14 masters. The number of students is between 5 and 600, about 100 of whom are foreigners. The Sciotes have sent three of their countrymen to study at foreign Universities, one to Paris, another to Vienna, and the third to Padua. The course of instruction embraces the subjects of theology, grammar, Latin, French, Turkish, painting, logic, metaphysics, rhetoric, moral philosophy, ancient history, mathematics, arithmetic, algebra, geography, mechanics, optics, experimental philosophy, and chemistry. The following is the method of classical instruction pursued at Scio.

"The Master first reads so much of the author in hand as he intends to explain. After the reading, he construes the passage aloud, making remarks of a critical nature on each word in the text. After this interpretation and these remarks, he goes again over the sense of the writer, in the way of paraphrase, using common Greek words, and modern synonymous phrases. He then draws three lots; and the Scholars, on whom the lots fall, repeat, one after another, the paraphrastic explanation which they heard from him; and, afterward, all in the class write it down. When they have all written this explanation, the Master draws a fourth lot, and corrects the written exercise of that Scholar on whom this lot falls, publicly noticing the errors and his correction of them; after which that Scholar reads aloud his corrected exercise, by which all the rest correct their errors. After this correction, the



Master adds further critical illustrations, which they write down and shew to him on the following day." (P. 76, 77.)

It seems, therefore, from this statement that the study of the Greek classics was pursued at Scio, with some accuracy. The island of Scio contains 62 villages, with a population of about 130,000 persons; these villages produce almost as many sorts of wine, one of which, called Homer's wine, is peculiarly excellent. The common labouring people are stated to be very industrious.

Leaving Scio, Mr. Jowett proceeded to Athens, and thence to the small island of Hydra, which at the present juncture has acquired peculiar importance. The character and circumstances of this island will appear from the following extract from his journal:

"Hydra, like many other towns built on the barren and mountainous parts of Islands of the Archipelago, glitters to the eye, at a considerable distance, with its white houses. On a nearer approach, this town discovers itself to be one of the newest and neatest in these parts. The state of the streets we had no opportunity of examining, as we were in quarantine; but the aspect of the town is very imposing. It is built on a steep ascent, and sweeps to the right, between an inner concave line of mountain, and a hill standing in the fore-ground.

"We spent rather less than an hour at the barrier, during which I collected a little information. There are about 3000 houses; and probably not less than 20,000 inhabitants, all Greeks. There were fourteen ships in harbour. It is said that the people have 200. They correspond, at present, chiefly with Malta, Leghorn, and Trieste. The Island is so entirely barren, that it is indebted to the Morea for vegetables and live-stock. It is in the Diocese of the Bishop of Damala. The harbour is deep water, but small; so that, in bad weather, they are sometimes obliged to run to the opposite coast. The town is built of substantial native stone. While we were there, they were giving notice, by loud cries, that they were going to blow up some rock; and, a minute or two after, we witnessed the explosion. The houses have generally two stories, and are very well built and white-washed, so as to have a handsome appearance; street rising, by a rapid ascent, above street. Our pilot says, that, sixteen years ago, there were not above 300 houses on the island. During the late war, the people rapidly rose, by carrying corn from Odessa to Spain for the use of the army. Some are very rich indeed. They build very fine vessels, and trade as far as the West Indies. They are attempting a School." (P. 83—85.)

The common people, in general, among the Greeks, understand much of the Gospels, when read, except that of St. John, which, treating of "high matters," seems to be considered safe only in the hands of the learned. In the countries visited by Mr. Jowett, sermons are rarely delivered, and are harangues rather

than discourses. Laymen are sometimes, though very rarely, permitted to preach to the people, and only on moral subjects, not on articles of faith.

“Many persons, respectable for their rank and station, do not well understand Ancient Greek. A Gentleman, who was shewing me a Greek Psalter, observed that the language appeared to him very sublime, so far as he could enter into it; but, though he had been obliged to learn it in his youth, he could not enter much into it. In fact, as soon as boys at School have learned the first book, answering to our Spelling-Book, they are put into the Psalter; which they are required to commit to memory, because it is used in the Churches, though they have very little comprehension of the meaning. How inveterate is the prejudice against the most natural and efficient mode of learning! The great body of the people, in consequence of this mode of instruction, cannot understand the Prayer-Book, nor the Epistles; nor of the Gospels any thing more than the general drift of the historical parts and of the Parables.” (P. 87, 88.)

3. The *Copts* have been generally considered to be the legitimate remains of the ancient Egyptians, as retaining in their features, and even in their name, proofs of their descent from that great and wonderful people: but, for the reasons above stated,\* Dr. Richardson is of opinion that they are rather the descendants of the Grecian colonists, who were amalgamated with the ancient inhabitants of that country. Twenty-three centuries of bondage and persecution have reduced their numbers, while the spirit of contention and heresy has almost extinguished the Gospel among them. The Copts are, generally, very poor. The head of their church is the patriarch of Alexandria, who (they pretend) sits in the chair of St. Mark the Evangelist, to whom they ascribe their conversion to Christianity, and whose relics they were accustomed to exhibit in the ninth century. The Coptic patriarch may be regarded as the head of the Abyssinian church, since he always appoints the Abuna, who is the highest ecclesiastical dignitary in that country. Mr. Jowett gives the following account of their mode of celebrating divine worship.

“On Sunday, we went to the Coptic Church. Episcopacy and the Patriarchal Dignity are here exhibited in humble guise. The Church is in the Convent: the approach to it is by winding avenues, narrow, and almost dark; on each side of which were seated, on the ground, the sick, the poor, the halt, the maimed, and the blind, asking alms, and scarcely leaving room for our feet to pass. Escaped from this scene, we entered the Church, which was well lighted up with wax tapers. There is a recess for the Communion Table; where a Priest,

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\* See p. 456 of this volume.

standing by himself, had already begun the Service, in the Coptic Language. Next to this was a considerable portion, latticed off, for the Patriarch, Priests, and chief persons; and, behind these, the remainder of the Church was occupied by a moving mass of people. The building seems to be about thirty feet square. We were squeezed into that part where the Patriarch and the Priests stood; and I could not help feeling how inevitable contagion would be in such a situation, if the Plague were in Cairo. I noticed, with grief, the irreverent behaviour of the Congregation: they could not at all hear the Priest, nor did they seem interested. Some little boys were standing laughing and trifling in the presence of the Patriarch; and though one of the Priests reproved them, it seemed to make but little impression on them. We were all standing; and many, as is their custom, leaning on crutches. Some blind old men near me took great pleasure, when joining in the responses at one part of the Service, accompanied by the clangor of cymbals: this kind of performance was by no means musical: the Coptic is the only Church wherein I have witnessed this custom, which accords literally with the words of the Psalmist, *Praise Him with the loud cymbals*. At length the Patriarch read, from a beautiful large manuscript, in Arabic, the Gospel for the day. He made several mistakes: a little Boy once, and at another time an Old Man standing by, corrected him: nor did the circumstance appear to excite the least surprise or confusion. The attention of the people was peculiarly fixed during this portion of the Service: it seemed to me that they understood and valued it. Here also, as in the Coptic Church at Alexandria, I remarked that the Old People, occasionally, with a low voice, accompanied the reading of the Gospel. Who shall say that Christ was not present—dimly seen, perhaps; yet felt with secret reverence and affection! *Thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my Word.*" (P. 112—113.)

Dr. Richardson states, from the information of the patriarch himself, that the congregation were provided neither with Bibles nor Prayer-Books, for use in the church or for study at home; but that they knew the responses by memory, having been taught them in their infancy, which was quite sufficient for all the duty they had to perform. What we call family worship, appears to be scarcely known in these countries. The Armenians are few in number, not exceeding 100 or 150 at Cairo, and 50 or 60 in Upper Egypt, where they exercise the office of bankers to the government. They are under the care of a bishop, who, by courtesy, is styled the Armenian Patriarch.

4. The *Abyssinians* are, by their creed and discipline, properly connected with the Coptic church; but, in consideration of their very peculiar circumstances, and of the high degree of interest which attaches to that people, Mr. Jowett has given a large portion of his volume to their history and confession of faith, as well as to the history of the Ethiopic translations of the Scriptures. We have room only for a few particulars.

"The Church of Abyssinia claims high veneration for its antiquity. It was about the year 330, that this country received the Gospel, through the teaching of Frumentius, who was ordained the first Bishop of Abyssinia by Athanasius, then Patriarch of Alexandria. For nearly fifteen hundred years has Christ Jesus been worshipped by that nation. From Frumentius to Simeon (A. D. 1613) they count Ninety Abunas. (Ludolf. Hist. lib. iii. 7.)

"Of this long period it is remarkable, that, for nearly 1200 years, the Christians of Abyssinia have withstood the encroachments of their neighbours the Mahomedans. Separated only by a narrow sea, and strip of territory, from the very gate of Mecca, this Christian Church has flourished, like an oasis in the desert; while an immense mass of nations, to the North, the East, and the West, has been desolated by Mahomedan Usurpations.

"The attachment of this people to the Religion of their Ancestors has been, with much reason, attributed to the circumstance, that Christianity was introduced into this country, not by force or treaty, but by knowledge and conviction. Hence it is, that both Rulers and Subjects have ever united in their defence of the Faith; and Abyssinia exhibits the solitary instance, in Africa, of Christianity surviving as the National Religion." (P. 171—172.)

The connexion of the Abyssinian church with that of the Copts in Egypt, involves a point of material consequence. The faith of both these churches is tainted with heresy; nor is it probable that the Abyssinian church will easily be emancipated from the Monophysite error, since, not only does their *Abuna* (the sole bishop of their nation) possess almost absolute power, receiving his authority immediately from the patriarch of Alexandria; but it is by a special canon prohibited, that the Abuna should be a native of Abyssinia,—and though styled a patriarch, he has not the power of making or establishing metropolitans. With regard to the *ancient* faith of the Abyssinians, in all points of substantial importance, it is scarcely possible to cite a confession superior to that of their Emperor, Claudius: the *modern* creed, as developed in the refined and subtle expositions of Mark, the present patriarch of Alexandria, (fortified with numerous anathemas,) the intelligent Christian must read with sorrow. But for these, as well as for Mr. Jowett's suggestions for the encouragement of Abyssinian learning, and his speculations concerning a mission to Abyssinia, we must refer our readers to his very interesting volume. No anathemas can restore this church. The circulation of the Holy Scriptures, and the faithful and affectionate administration of the truths and ordinances of the Gospel, are the healing balm which must be applied to her festering wounds.

Concerning the Jews, and the qualifications of those who would attempt their conversion, Mr. Jowett has offered some valuable facts and hints. But we must hasten to the concluding division of his volume, which treats of the Mohammedans.

The causes of the continued *prevalence* of the tenets of the false prophet of Arabia are ascribed by Mr. Jowett to the *profound ignorance* of the nature of the human heart, in which the Mohammedan religion leaves its votaries,—the *want of right moral feeling* which accompanies inveterate and universal ignorance,—the vices which their creed cherishes, and to which, generally speaking, the climates inhabited by them are conducive,—the *cunning, fraud, and extortion* which universally prevail under their governments,—and the chilling despotism by which they are all characterized. The causes of the continued *depression* of Christianity in Mohammedan countries, are—ignorance, more especially of the Scriptures,—declension from the fundamental doctrines of Christianity,—intolerance,—the schisms and feuds of various sects of professing Christians, in the East,—and their gross superstitions and idolatrous customs.

No Mussulman dares become a Christian, even if he were so disposed from conviction; for, by embracing the Christian faith, he would incur a forfeiture of life and property, and would be immediately deprived of both. Mr. Jowett has recorded one instance of a Christian, who had embraced Islamism, recanting his apostasy and suffering martyrdom at Smyrna; (pp. 20—22;) and, with deep regret, we state the fact which he has also recorded, that there are not unfrequent instances of Christians . . . . . even of Englishmen . . . . . who have renounced their Saviour!

The length to which this article has extended, constrains us to terminate here our notice of these “Christian Rescarches,” referring our readers to the author’s important observations on the causes of the deplorable apostasy just noticed, and on the measures to be adopted for extending the influence of Christianity among the various bodies of men inhabiting the territories visited by him, as well as on the necessary qualifications of Labourers in those parts of the Christian vineyard. These suggestions will be read, we are assured, with the deepest attention by all who take an interest in the spiritual welfare of mankind, and especially by the members of that association which has the honour of employing Mr. Jowett in its service,—we mean, the Church Missionary Society; with whose objects and plans our readers are doubtless well acquainted. Opposed and calumniated, the Society has arisen superior to all the assaults of its antagonists; and the benefits which have actually been conferred by the labours of its missionaries and schoolmasters in various parts of the world, especially on the western coast of Africa, authorizes its friends, and the friends of mankind, to form well grounded hopes of increasing success in the great work of evangelizing the heathen nations of the world.

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